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of the Protestant Episcopal Church



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Vol. XXVI

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No. 2



JAMESTOWN

1607-1957

A Poem by

Eleanor Graham Vance

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JAMESTOWN*

1607-1957

We were the first—the hundred and five
Who lasted the journey and stayed alive
Till we rested our eyes on Virginia's shore
And hurried to land, on fire to explore.
Oh, the wonderful birds! The tall, tall trees!
The sweet perfume of the springtime breeze!
And the forest streams that were crystal-clear!
There were savages, too, that we learned to fear,
For we felt their arrows the very first night.
But the first few days were full of delight
As we stretched our legs and opened our eyes
And stared at the blue Virginia skies.

*Are the dogwood flowers white and fair?
Do you still find strawberries here and
there?*

We were the first. Do you know our names?
We called the town and the river James.
It was only right to honor the king,
And perhaps we thought such a name would bring
A feeling of England to English soil,
But the soil was not English for all our toil.
It was something else from the very start,
And each of us felt the land in his heart.
We were only a handful of fevered men,
But we were Americans even then,
And far from the pomp of King James's court
We built a church and we built a fort.

*Does the ivy spread on the old church tower?
Is our country strong? Has she grown in power?*

We were the first. Yes, Raleigh had tried
At Roanoke, but his men had died.
And the red men were here God knows how long
And you may say that we did them wrong,
But we did as fate compelled us to,
And there never was time to think *what* to do
When an arrow came out of a vast green wall
And we saw a comrade stagger and fall.
Our life was hard, but we learned at the end
Though death was our enemy, death was our friend
In the starving time and the fever years—
And we were the first of the pioneers.

*Do you think of our hunger? Remember our thirst?
Do you still breed men who will be the first?*

—Eleanor Graham Vance

*Reprinted by permission of *Good Housekeeping* magazine.

Editorials

The Jamestown Anniversary Celebration

WHATEVER the faults of the current celebration of the founding of Jamestown and the Church, and whatever the failings of General Convention's "Jamestown 350 Anniversary Committee," one thing is certain:

The 1957 Celebration of the event is the most thorough-going ever held in the three and one-half centuries since 1607.

This is due to the whole-hearted cooperation among the various persons and agencies necessarily concerned, beginning with the Presiding Bishop and the Bishop of Southern Virginia, and the latter's Diocese, and including the Bishops and Dioceses of Virginia and Southwestern Virginia, the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities (which latter owns the Jamestown Church), the Anniversary Commission of the Commonwealth of Virginia (Mr. Parke Rouse, Jr., secretary), and the Department of Promotion of the National Council.

But the man who has made possible the Church's worthy part in this celebration by raising the necessary money is the secretary of General Convention's Joint Committee, B. Powell Harrison, Jr., Esq., of Leesburg, Virginia. The \$2,000.00 appropriated by the General Convention of 1955 for the Committee's use was soon seen to be entirely inadequate, and Mr. Harrison, singlehanded, has raised over \$25,000.00.

In response to an appeal from the editor for a report on the present situation, Mr. Harrison, under date of May 22nd, wrote as follows:

The visit of the Archbishop of Canterbury was No. 1 in the Plan. You know the results of this. Regarding Nos. 2 and 3, Television and Radio, I attach a copy of a letter from Dana Kennedy outlining various radio and television programs. More is to come. Perhaps you have heard Dr. Pike on his program last week.

Regarding the operation of the Church at Jamestown, you are fairly familiar with it. We are just now getting the sound equipment installed which will play liturgical music thruout the day. Also the expensive booklet to be sold for \$1 is still in the mill and probably will not be ready for three weeks.

The Rev. Dr. Churchill Gibson, Chaplain of the Exhibit, has found it necessary to have assistants. He is using various clergy obtained from Virginia and some from elsewhere who

have volunteered on the basis of about one week each. We have two guides employed and are now considering employing a third.

We feel the need of some additional color in this operation, and at the moment Colonial Williamsburg is cooperating with Churchill Gibson to provide us with competent advice as to how best to accomplish this. Dr. Gibson is also working with the APVA¹ for their approval on such steps as are being considered.

National Council has produced display posters for Churches thruout the country which proclaim this as "Jamestown Year." A filmstrip has been produced which I believe is extremely effective and is now available for Sunday School use. This was done by National Council and we have paid the bill. Exhibits have been installed in the Cathedrals in New York and Washington and I understand they are quite effective. You will be interested in the attached letter from Mr. McGregor of the Washington Cathedral.²

National Council has been of tremendous help to us. There are a number of additional things which they have been doing which I have not commented on here. John Reinhardt could mention them.

Our Committee last fall voted to raise \$25,000 for this promotion. To date we have raised and deposited to our account \$26,010. An additional sum of, I believe, \$5000 from the Order of Jamestown was turned over to the Diocese of Southern Virginia for the payment of Dr. Gibson's salary. This makes a total in cash of \$31,010. We have also solicited and obtained a \$1500 organ. RCA has made a commitment for \$900 worth of sound equipment which we hope is about to be installed. National Council has found some available funds to assist. For instance, they are making a twenty-minute documentary-type movie which will be ready in August. In addition to this, they have launched into a full-fledged movie on the early beginning of our Church which will run about thirty minutes but will not be complete until next year. I was the motivator behind these two movies. I am both a member of National Council and the Jamestown Committee, so I guess some credit should go to each.

¹The APVA is the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, which owns the Jamestown Church and much of the land on Jamestown Island.

²On May 20th, Mr. Robert F. McGregor of Washington Cathedral wrote Mr. Harrison:

"For some weeks now the Jamestown Exhibit, which your committee has provided for our use here at the Cathedral, has been enjoying a most remarkable attention. We have been fortunate in finding a very good place for it, but the exhibit itself is so striking and so easy to enjoy in a few moments that I did want to write a note of appreciation to you and the other members of the committee."

I don't know how much you intend to write, but if there is room, and you care to, it does not hurt mentioning three persons who have put in many hours of free time to assist us: Pierce Middleton; Cecil Houck (who is deputy treasurer, expeditor on the scene, general handyman) who is spending hours each week doing the menial jobs; and a Mr. Kocher, a Williamsburg architect (unfortunately I cannot find his full name).

B. POWELL HARRISON, JR.

When this celebration is over, a complete report will be made to the General Convention, and samples of all literature prepared for the occasion will be deposited with the archives of General Convention in the custody of the Church Historical Society. Thus, fifty years hence, in 2007 A. D., when the 400th anniversary comes around, the Joint Committee of General Convention will have a well-rounded and well-integrated program to consult in the archives—which is more than the present Joint Committee could do, for there was none. Our current Committee has had to start from scratch, and has had to raise considerable funds in order to accomplish anything truly worthy of the Church's dignity.

It is to be hoped that the General Convention which meets in the year 2000 A. D. will appoint the Joint Committee which is to supply the leadership for the 400th anniversary celebration in 2007 A. D., and will appropriate not less than \$50,000.00 for its work.

WALTER H. STOWE.

Professor Klingberg Points Up The Puzzle!

PROFESSOR Frank J. Klingberg, of the University of California, Los Angeles, in a letter to the editor, under date of April 10th last, after complimenting us on the March 1957 issue, points up the puzzle of the propaganda battle between Jamestown and Plymouth, Virginia and Massachusetts. It is not a recent puzzle, as his letter clearly shows. One thing ought to be crystal clear: Those who write our history books are *very important people*.

I, too, have often wondered just why the Yankees could claim much beyond what was just and fair. In my college

days at the University of Kansas, Professor Frank H. Hodder in United States history often speculated on why the Yankee was more given to setting everything down on paper as against those who built Virginia. Then later at the University of Wisconsin, Frederick Jackson Turner pursued the same question again without any final conclusions—except such was the fact.

I often wonder whether the Civil War added to the already total bias. I, for example, was told in my ungraded grammar school that Mt. Washington was the highest peak in the Eastern mountain ranges. When an occasional Southerner stated that about half a dozen peaks in North Carolina were higher, he was dismissed as a rebel who had lost the war and was now building tall mountains as a solace for his defeat on many a battle field.

Those Southerners, like Louis B. Wright of the Folger Library and Dumas Malone of Columbia University, have no trouble fixing the facts of the greatness of the Southern Episcopalian in many walks of life, but these men, too, can't quite figure out why so?

When Frank W. [Klingberg—his son] and I worked on the Randall-Grigsby Correspondence, we ran into the same question and found attempts at answers unavailing.

But the Yankees should have waited in peace and quietude until Jamestown was over before trotting out the Pilgrim Fathers. I am glad you are in the ranks demanding that simple facts and truth have their day now and in the decades to come.

And again my gratitude for this recent number and all the other fine ones due to your great gifts as an historian.

Ever yours,

FRANK J. KLINGBERG.

Our New Associate Editors:

Dr. Barnes and Dr. Eckel

TIME did not allow us to do more than to list on Cover II of the March 1957 issue our two new Associate Editors: The Rev. Canon C. Rankin Barnes, D.D., S.T.D., and the Rev. Edward H. Eckel, S.T.D. We wish to repair this neglect by telling our readers something about them.

Dr. Barnes is well known to the clergy of the Episcopal Church, and to those laymen who have been deputies to the General Convention during the last decade, as the Secretary of the General Convention,

and editor of the latter's triennial *Journal*; also he has been Secretary of the National Council since 1946.

The contributions of Dr. Barnes to HISTORICAL MAGAZINE have been outstanding. He began them in 1944, with our Volume XIII, with his essay on "St. Paul's Church, San Diego, California," of which he was then rector. This was followed by his authoritative study, "General Convention, Offices and Officers, 1785-1949," which took up the entire June issue of 1949, and was later published in book form, Publication No. 33, by the Church Historical Society, from which agency it can still be obtained. To our special General Convention Number of 1952, Dr. Barnes contributed the essay on "The General Convention of 1919," generally considered to have been a turning point in the history of the American Church. His latest contribution was to our June 1955 issue, "Ethelbert Talbot (1848-1928): Missionary Bishop, Diocesan Bishop, Presiding Bishop," which has also been republished as a brochure, Publication No. 41, by the Church Historical Society.

Dr. Eckel is a former Rhodes Scholar at Oxford University, who has had one of the most distinguished ministries among those of his generation. Many of the best years of his life were spent in saving two parishes from the sheriff's hammer: first, St. Paul's-on-the-Hill, St. Paul, Minnesota, and then in 1929 he became rector of Trinity Church, Tulsa, Oklahoma, which had a debt of \$300,000.00 when the stock market crashed and the depression struck. Happily, not only was he able to see this latter parish through the trying decade of the Thirties, but he has supplied the leadership needed to make it one of the notable parishes of the Southwest, with several vigorous offspring. A year ago, in a personal letter to the editor-in-chief, he succinctly summarized the remarkable growth of the Episcopal Church in Tulsa during his rectorship:

"We now have in Tulsa six congregations (two of them without churches) where we had one twenty-six years ago—3,300 communicants, where we had 1,000—and a Church School enrollment of about 2,000. Our two outlying parishes have grown in a very few years into quite strong babies, with about 1,600 communicants between them, and with Church School enrollments as large as the mother church or larger. St. Luke's doubled the size of its parish house a couple of years ago. St. John's is now building a \$300,000 church. And under Bishop Powell's stimulating leadership, the same sort of growth is taking place all over the diocese. Not that we don't still have plenty of problems and headaches to keep us humble, and to keep us on our toes."

Our readers are familiar with Dr. Eckel's incomparable reviews, two of which will be found below in this issue.

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE considers itself fortunate to have these two distinguished priests and scholars among its editors.

WALTER H. STOWE.

Current Books on Church History

IN the May 1957 issue of the *Bulletin of the General Theological Seminary*, pp. 9-11, the Rev. Professor Powel M. Dawley, Sub-Dean and head of the department of Ecclesiastical History, discusses current books on Church History. With Dr. Dawley's permission, we reprint here, for the benefit of our readers, what he says:

CHURCH HISTORY

The celebrations this spring of the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Jamestown Colony have aroused new interest in the early years of the Church in America. The most important short study of the character of Virginia Anglicanism in the first decades of the colony is that given by Perry Miller in "Religion and Society in the Early Literature of Virginia," one of the collected essays of his *Errand into the Wilderness* (Harvard Press). Other recent works on the history of our own Church in its colonial period are N. W. Rightmyer's *Maryland's Established Church* (Church Historical Society) and C. O. Loveland's *The Critical Years* (Seabury Press). E. F. Carpenter's new biography of Bishop Compton, *The Protestant Bishop: The Life of Henry Compton 1632-1713, Bishop of London* (Longmans), contains a good deal of material concerning the relations between the Bishop of London and the colonial Church.

Easily the most significant publication of the year in English Church history is the second volume of J. E. Neale's *Elizabeth I and her Parliaments* (Jonathan Cape). This volume (1584-1601) carries the careful examination of the parliamentary activity of the later Tudor period down to the close of the queen's reign, throwing new light at many points on the story of Puritan opposition to the Elizabethan Settlement. Neale's volumes are indispensable to any serious student of the English Reformation. In the same general period, G. W. Bromiley's *Thomas Cranmer: Theologian* (Oxford Press) and E. R. Hunt's *Dean Colet and his Theology* (S.P.C.K.) provide relatively brief and stimulating discussions of the thought

of two important sixteenth-century figures. For an earlier period in English history, G. W. S. Barrow's *Feudal Britain: The Completion of the Medieval Kingdom: 1066-1314* (Arnold) will be found useful, and admirers of E. S. Duckett will enjoy her latest study of Saxon England in *Alfred the Great* (University of Chicago Press). In the post-Reformation period in England, George Every's *The High Church Party: 1688-1718* (S.P.C.K.) covers some aspects of the years from the Revolution to the silencing of Convocation.

Two new books will be found very useful by those with an interest in the life and thought of the Early Church. John Lowe's *Saint Peter* (Oxford Press), the Winslow Lectures here at the Seminary, brings together in brief compass a good deal of material about the position and primacy of St. Peter in the primitive Church. Henry Bettenson's *The Early Christian Fathers* (Oxford Press), a companion to his earlier and deservedly popular *Documents of the Christian Church*, contains an excellent selection from the writings of the Apostolic Fathers, Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Cyprian and Athanasius.

Geoffrey Barraclough's *History in a Changing World* (Blackwell), the essays of which are largely interpretive of men and movements in medieval history, is a thoughtful reappraisal of some of the traditional ideas of European historiography, pointing towards a clearer understanding of the situation that confronts the world today. T. M. Parker's *Christianity and the State in the Light of History* (A. & C. Black) is the best survey of Church-State relations through the centuries; also of interest are J. M. Hussey's *The Byzantine World* (Hutchinson's University Library), and M. de la Bedoyere's discussion of the relation between Francois Fenelon and Madame Guyon in *The Archbishop and the Lady* (Pantheon).

Histories of the modern Church are difficult to write, yet J. H. Nichols has done a creditable job in his *History of Christianity 1650-1950* (Ronald Press). As a text, it is a useful addition to those now familiar to most students.

P. M. DAWLEY.

"The Inner Life Of A Modern- Day Saint"

As Disclosed by the Diaries and Letters of

Charles Henry Brent

(1862-1929)

Edited by

Frederick Ward Kates

*Rector of St. Paul's Parish
Baltimore, Maryland*

Principal Dates in Bishop Brent's Life

1862 Born April 9th in Anglican Rectory, New Castle, Ontario, Canada.

1880-1882 Student, Trinity College School, Port Hope, Ontario.

1884 Bachelor of Arts, honors in classics, Trinity College, University of Toronto.

1884-1886 Master, Trinity College School.

1886 Ordained deacon, by Bishop Sweatman of Toronto; priest, 1887.

1886-1887 Curate and organist, St. John's Church, Buffalo, New York.

1887-1888 On staff of St. Paul's Church (now Cathedral), Buffalo, New York.

1888-1891 With Cowley Fathers in Boston, Massachusetts.

1891-1901 Associate Rector (last two months: Rector), St. Stephen's Church, Boston, Massachusetts.

1901 Elected First Missionary Bishop of the Philippine Islands. Consecrated December 19th.

1901-1918 Missionary Bishop of the Philippines.

1909 President, First International Opium Conference, Shanghai.

1910 Attended Edinburgh International Missionary Conference, where he conceived the idea of a World Conference on Faith and Order.

1911 President, Second International Opium Conference, The Hague.

1917-1919 Chief-of-Chaplains, American Expeditionary Force in France.

1917 October 2nd, elected fourth Bishop of Western New York.

1918 Became diocesan, January 19th.

1919 February 6th, began diocesan duties.

1920 Chairman of meeting to plan World Conference on Faith and Order, Geneva, Switzerland.

1924 Last attendance at international narcotics conferences.

1925 Delegate to Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work, Stockholm, Sweden.

1927 President, First World Conference on Faith and Order, Lausanne, Switzerland, August 3-21.

1929 Died, March 27th, in Lausanne, Switzerland.

1902

A new year stretches out before me—full of romance and the companions of romance, pain and hardship. May God make me His docile, happy servant all through the unborn future. “E’n la sua voluntate e nostra pace.”—*January 1.*

Less than a week more and I shall be on the deep with my face set toward my last and greatest work. God be about me, before me, behind me!—*May 11.*

As I turn my back on the country that I love and for which I would die, I pray God that He will give me patience, courage and strength for what lies before. The only thing I really fear is failure to do God’s will.—*May 17.*

Failed to say my Evensong. I must find time to say the Daily Office with all the earnestness and spiritual power I can command. May God, who puts it into my heart to be spiritual, make me strong to do as well as to desire to do.—*June 9.*

God knows how I need transfiguring. May His mercy embrace me, His glory illumine me.—*August 6.*

O God, enable me to help some men to be what they ought to be.—*August 20.*

May God keep me loyal and empower me to do my stint of work, be the cost what it may.—*August 23.*

May God make me a true leader of men—a leader because a true companion and servant.—*September 16.*

The anniversary of my Consecration. Another year of God’s mercy has gone by. My mind went back to the happenings of the day I was consecrated. Oh! I desire to do God’s will: it is my purpose to do it.

May He take my poor, frail will and forge it anew for the tasks undone, the battles unfought.—*December 19.*

1903

The stretch of a new year lies ahead. A beginning is a mountain top. One gets a fine prospect from it. I long to be a braver, nobler, purer man; but I have not been ready to put my life under the discipline of the Gospel. O God, turn my visions into facts, my longings into effort, my fickleness into stability.—*January 1.*

The shattered will is powerless to respond to the calls of an awakened desire. O Lord, in Thee is my only hope. Save me from the tyranny of evil habit. Be to me for a will that will shape my aspirations into a character. I crave not only pure thoughts and deeds, honesty and truthfulness in intention, but a fire of purity that burns the unclean, an honor that is instinctive, a truthfulness that is transparent. Here or there, through the disciplines of penitence and pain, by means of the purging of destruction if need be, make me clean and as Thyself. Thou art wisdom, love, and strength, and art sufficient for my ignorance, lukewarmness and frailty.—*January 26.*

Oh for a higher degree of righteousness springing from the motive I preached upon—God's love, His grief when we sin, His joy when we strive. Oh for an army of consecrated men to do the work here! Lord, enable me to thus chasten the flesh from a right motive.—*February 25.*

O Lord, I hate sin and yet I am so miserably its unwilling victim. The things that I would not, those I do: and those that I would, I am unable to accomplish. I think I am morbidly afraid of appearing singular: O Lord, make me glad to be singular with the eccentricity of righteousness: place upon me the marks of the Lord Jesus.—*March 15.*
O God, make me more loving, more tender, more careful of those who remain to me.—*March 24.*

1904

O Lord, pity me and convert me by Thy Cross and Passion.—*March 31.*

O Lord, I beseech Thee, deliver me, for I am weak. Thy hand alone can save.—*April 18.*

May God make me patient and quiet under criticism—nay, may He enable me to profit by it. Doubtless in much I have taken an imperfect course, but I have tried and desired to know and do God's will.—*April 26.*

Lord, deliver me from the curse of self-pity and give me courage and faith.—*April 28.*

May God give me truth in the inward parts. May He give me courage so that I shall never play the coward and look at problems with shifting eye. I may fail, but I pray God not morally.—*July 2.*

1905

The year's motto: "Whose praise is not of men, but of God" (Romans 2:29).—*written on fly-leaf of 1905 Notebook.*

This whole strange appeal of a community for Christian ministrations is touching. I move blindly but with the desire to do as God directs. May He bless these people and send laborers into this field white to the harvest.—*June 29.*

We must enter heaven and sojourn in it a space every day in order to understand the meaning of life and do the work in the world that lies before us. The courts of heaven are but a step away. The doors are shut neither day nor night. Anyone who believes in God can find his way to the very throne.—*Notebook.*

May God help me to make the new year the best year yet. I must lead a more rigidly controlled life both to gain power and to develop freedom.—*December 31.*

1906

The last day of another year has dawned—another year of imperfection and failure and sin. "And now Lord what is my hope? Truly my hope is even in Thee." I would commit my way unto the Lord. From day to day I would seek His face. As I read over the first pages of my

diary, I see how small my progress has been. Once again I lift my arms up to God and strive to labor for Him alone. I would give Him my best.—*December 31.*

1907

Thank you for your birthday greeting—forty five years have gone. No, I am far from desiring forty more birthdays. If I could have ten years of fairly progressive life carrying me up to an ideal pitch of wisdom and righteousness I should gladly move hence. The world is good and attractive and I believe it to be God's world—but there are better things, and why should not one look at them with some degree of wistfulness?—*Letter, April 23.*

Sensitiveness is a gift not a defect. It needs training and involves suffering, but it is the handmaid of sympathy and opens all sorts of doors that otherwise would always remain closed. I think it is a good thing to learn early that no one has a right to any happiness other than that which comes from a life without reproach before God. That is an essential happiness: the rest is incidental and of no deep importance. However, this is a truth that can be borne in upon us chiefly through experience.—*Letter, April 27.*

I always get refreshment from the mountains. Sometimes I am alone for days and get lots of chance to think out problems as I go along the trail. I fear I am somewhat too fond of being alone. I should be glad to spend half of every day with books and pen.—*Ibid.*

1908

The question has never been where is the easiest or hardest place. That is a consideration that does not enter in at all. Duty sometimes takes one into difficulty and sometimes into smoothness. To do a thing simply because it is difficult, without regard to its value, is Spartanlike asceticism and runs into reckless folly; on the other hand, to do a thing because it is easy or what we like is common, everyday self-indulgence and, after the manner of an extreme, meets the former in debilitating folly. Duty is duty: sometimes it frowns, sometimes it smiles, and we must take it whatever be its mood.—*Letter, July 10.*

Would God I could cry when the great clouds of gloom and disappointment come sweeping over me, and my heart is breaking—*August 29.*

I go back to the Orient conscious that, though you and I may not live to see it, the Pacific coast of the Asiatic world is bound to be the center of the interest of the whole human race in the course of a short time. Those of us who have a vocation there at any rate, whether we fail or succeed, are spending our energies on one of the gravest and biggest problems that human history has ever known.—*Letter, October 2.*

My heart is full of thankfulness to God for bringing me back here, and I pray only for courage and strength to meet the opportunities lying at hand.—*November 1.*

1909

I wish to cultivate the distinctly virile in myself. I would take for my motto, "I can do all things through Christ who strengtheneth me." I need courage—courage to be unpopular if need be, to blaze a new trail for my fellows. Lord, help me to be daring.—*January 1.*

Remember I am an idealist, and my power all rests in my loyalty to ideals as I see them. The reasons for my staying may all be found in my books—especially *Adventure for God* and *Leadership*. No words that I could say in or elsewhere could have the same weight as my decision to remain, in the direction of indicating that the missionary work of the Church is second to none. It is my conviction, and the Church at home is lacking in it. I was sent out here to do a work requiring men and means that have never been given me. The sense of opportunity slipping away because of the apathy at home has sometimes been crushing, and may yet press the spirit and life out of me. But I am content to go down with the ship. A man can do no more than give his life for a cause. Then again, if I am a strong man, I ought to be among the weak, and God knows that I am among both the feeble and the neglected here. I have never felt that I lacked opportunity to serve the universal Church in the Philippine Islands, and somehow I like the thought of using what power I have without the aid that is afforded by position and prestige; it seems to place me nearer our Lord. The whole question was, Where can I be of most service? It is my ambition to be written down a faithful servant—I have no other. I desire my service to be wide and deep, and I have chosen the course which gives my ambition freest scope. No one from could advance a single argument why I should go there which I have not weighed. But behind and above the reasonableness of my course rise the clearly enunciated words of God inviting me to abide here with Him instead

of going to without Him. The future is going to abundantly justify my decision—how I do not know any more than St. Paul when he went up to Jerusalem bound in the Spirit.—*Letter, June 10.*

1910

I am 48 years old today. How much of time is still left to me? God help me to use it, be it long or short, for Him and His.—*April 9.*

May God make me lose self-consciousness in eager, strenuous service of the highest interests.—*June 11.*

At the morning Eucharist, there came vividly before me the possibility of a world conference on Faith and Order.—*October 5 (Edinburgh).*

1911

The nearness of God came to me as a dazzling fact, almost numbing my faculties, early in my ministry. That, however, must be supplemented by a grasp of God's character. It is a nearness that palpitates with close attention to our lives, that disciplines us in such wise that the sternest and most inexplicable pain becomes as a cloud touched with sunset colors, that loves us with the sort of love which looks toward our highest possibilities, shaping us into perfection by a slow, sure process, as the potter shapes his vessel, that takes our repented-of sins and turns them to our advantage, that understands our frailty, our doubts, our limitations, with the understanding of sympathy born of experience, the experience of the Incarnate Life.

“Well I know thy trouble
O my servant true,
Thou art very weary—
I was weary too.

—*Letter, March, 23.*

Our steady, simple prayers never fail to reach God. The mere knowledge of that rests one's soul. The consciousness that God has a purpose for each of us, and that He will unfold it to us with the eagerness and joy of a lover offering a gift to his bride, is enough to allay if not kill anxiety. The purpose may not always be clear to us but its golden

thread runs through all our days. It is a purpose of which we may say *solvitur ambulando*.—*Ibid*.

I am equally afraid of timidity and precipitateness. The timidity that says "I must hug my little truth lest it should get maimed or smirched by being jostled in the crowd" is fatal to progress, and indicative that the persons who think they believe the truth which they so tenaciously embrace are really attached to their own ideas or opinions rather than to the truth itself. I love the truth because I know that wherever it is there is safety. Truth is invincible and impregnable. That which is burned off it when it is put into the fire, or torn off it when it is in the heat of battle, is not of the essence of truth but rather the habiliments of human opinion, such as obscure instead of freeing it. On the other hand, precipitateness is proficient in the art of excess. It is too public in its processes. It is very apt not to get down to the root of the matter. In its endeavor to get truth free from one set of entanglements, it winds up in another set, different in form it may be, but equally injurious.

—*Letter, June 7.*

1912

Lord, make me as a child this year. Of such is the Kingdom of God.
—*January 1.*

Now that I am closing fifty years of life, I want you and all my dear friends to pray that my last steps may be less faltering and more worthy than those of the years that are gone. It seems to me as time goes on that the only thing that is worth seeking for is to know and to be known by Christ, a privilege open alone to the childlike who with receptivity, guilelessness, and humility move Godward. The Babe on your Christmas card says this to me.—*Letter, December 26.*

1913

This is day of prayer for China at request of Chinese cabinet. The more one thinks of the modern world, the more intricate and hopeless it seems, humanly speaking. The Incarnation, telling of sympathy, and the Resurrection of power, alone give courage and hope. God does, must, reign. Lord Jesus, come quickly.—*April 27.*

Arrived Manila at 4—May God make this new period of service more genuinely unselfish and strong than any before.—*December 20.*

1914

O God, teach me to be increasingly stern with myself, pitiless toward my selfish desires. Make me a vigilant watchman that I may be a worthy guide.—*February 9.*

I have come to feel that difficulty is man's best environment. Often we are not intended to solve problems with which we are confronted: they are intended to solve us. We can always challenge difficulty and cheat failure by denying it. The hardest part of life is when depression clouds one. But after a while one learns that if there is no obvious cause, *accidie** is most fruitful. We are in the gloom to find more of God. We come to realize, after we have patiently passed through it, that we were not unattended, and that in our hands are gleanings which, all unconsciously, we were gathering as we waited.—*Letter, February 26.*

Nearly fainted during Eucharist. Penalty of wicked worry! God forgive me. Oh for less anxious courage!—*April 5.*

Another birthday. I would lay the balance of this poor life on the altar—any altar of God's making. I am not trustful. God make me more so. I seemed to hear God's voice saying to me as I left the Eucharist this morning that I must not break. In His strength, come what may, I shall not break. I must stop worrying and trust in Him. The question is how to fight it effectively and to cure a mind that has allowed itself to be twisted askew. But God will help me.—*April 9.*

I am sick at heart because of tonight's news—War! I have learned out here the meaning of that hellish word.—*April 21.*

The highest safety is reached in the deepest risk under the banner of the Cross. I am not thinking of physical danger which, as circumstances have proved, is no greater here (Philipine Islands) than elsewhere, but of the risk of ghastly failure that accompanies every great venture of faith, and which within a few days has made me falter. A man as an individual may be quite ready to be reckless with himself and his fortunes, but when in the loneliness of life in the uttermost parts of the earth, he broods over the fact that his own failure would involve others deeply, an Egyptian night of horror can easily settle down on

**Accidie* is an obsolete word, meaning sloth or torpor. It is a derivative of *acedia*, apathy and melancholy, especially observed in monasteries.—*Editor's note.*

him and make him lose perspective. I confess to being susceptible to the paralysis of this sort of suffering.—*Letter, June 8.*

I have felt that it may be my duty merely to bear witness and not to succeed.—*Letter, June 16.*

The worst enemy is this hideous war. It is a contradiction of the rights and sanctity of human life. It appears to me the declaration of the failure of civilization. My impulse is to go off into the wilds and live with the so-called savages, whose worst atrocities are mild compared with this storm of destruction which is desecrating Europe,—*Letter, September 18.*

1915

Yes, I admit that I have dark days—who does not? But I am in better fighting trim than I was a year ago. I would be a base creature indeed not to aim to be and to do my best with all the encouragement and backing I have.—*Letter, April 30.*

I am glad that my book brought you interest. Sometimes I wonder if I could not occupy my time better than by scribbling. But I find it a good way to lose myself from the grind that much of my work is.—*Letter, September 27.*

Another thing I am convinced of it that a man must learn to do nothing, gracefully, as part of his day's work. Quiet with God, "L'Oraison Mentale," about which St. Alphonsus wrote so well, deliberate, hard thinking with a courageous mind that will not ignore or underrate the hostile forces with which one must contend, is perhaps not doing nothing but it is keeping the body still and giving the soul and mind a chance.—*Letter, October 15.*

My life is so often cut off for long stretches from men of my own blood, and I am so frequently quite alone, that I have learned the truth of St. Bernard's saying, *Numquid minus solus, quam cum solus.*—*Letter, October 19.*

The whole question of prayer becomes more and more wonderful and rich as life goes on. It ceases to be a mere besieging of God with requests and becomes more and more a conversation with Him.—*Letter, December 15.*

There is no discipline so hard to endure as the discipline of waiting.—*Ibid.*

What is memory for but to recall and renew the living touch? What is every stimulus pricking us to higher and holier living but the pressure of our loved ones pursuing us with silent, persistent love? In prayer for the dead, specific, confident, is not only comfort, but as real a caress or spiritual embrace as though there were no such thing as space or barriers to presence. I like to let my mind swing into the heights of the better country Paradise is, after all, a very human place. Its occupants are all men and women. There are doubtless other intelligences, angels for instance, but they do not alter the human character of Paradise, though of course they must enhance its wonders. We ought not to have any fear or sense of loneliness as we contemplate our own entrance thither, which may be sooner than we think. Our Saviour stands ready to receive us, to take off the tattered robe of our weaknesses and to clothe us in the white of His own purchase. We shall not find Him strange. He will be all that the Gospels depict Him, all that we have found Him here, but the excess of the wonders of His Person will fill us with an ecstasy which one can only guess at.—*Ibid.*

As life goes on, it becomes simpler for me. There are, after all, few things that I either need or want.—*Ibid.*

May God always be with you to cheer and guide and strengthen. Life is truly worth living, and never has God needed men and women to live bravely and fearlessly as He does today.—*Ibid.*

1916

My chief inspiration and support now is in Luke xxi, a perfect picture of our day. Christ will surely manifest Himself anew. He will come to us in power and great glory. Everything shakeable will be shaken, but the things which cannot be shaken will come out all the more magnificent because of the world convulsion. We must look up and lift our heads, for our redemption draweth nigh. . . . The new year is more than ordinarily a veiled tomorrow, but we must move into it with heads erect and eyes sparkling, ready to give up everything to win for the world God's righteousness and truth and glory. I write with something of the coward in my heart, but with the will to be brave. I do believe that the very choicest things are to be found only in the agony of struggle. The old myth is essentially true. A dragon guards all treasure. But man can kill the dragon and seize the treasure. One must try to answer every despondent thought by shaping a cheering thought, every cowardly impulse by some little dash of courage. Be-

yond the immediate end of our activities on earth, there is the new Kingdom for which we are now in training. Before we know it, God will be bringing us into its gates. All the old material will be there. Nothing precious or enduring in it will have been lost, and then we shall know the explanation of all the puzzles of earth. I'm sure, too, God will not allow heaven to be dull from lack of vital tasks.—*Letter, January 5.*

Death has been shorn of horrors chiefly, I believe, because of my growing experience of the tenderness of God. As a little dying friend of mine said last summer: "Je voie le bon Dieu; et il est *si* gentil pour moi." —*Letter, Palm Sunday.*

I often think of the saying of Saint Monica, who expressed the wish to be buried wherever she happened to die.—*Letter, August 22.*

God knows I have been coward enough in my time, and I lament that I have gone so far on in life as I have without having learned better the meaning of life in its relation to difficulties and dangers. We must not be cast down. It is easy enough to fall into the trap in which Elijah was caught, and say that we are no better than our fathers; probably we are not, but we should show as much courage and as much hope in the face of world disaster and inner discord as Luke xxi seems to require of the disciple.—*Undated Letter.*

1917

The War situation is graver than America even now recognizes. Upon us depends the issue, and it is an issue of life and death. We have not yet entered into the troubles and sorrows which must be our lot before we finish. If the Allies go under, there will be little left in this world to live for.—*Letter, June 12.*

The question of the morale of the troops in the face of such hideous conditions as you can hardly conceive of is another that men are only beginning to face. Above all as a menace is our broken Christendom. Unless the Churches do something to shake off their lethargy, the future has no gleam to relieve the gloom.—*Ibid.*

One wonders what God is going to do with this world that has lost its way. A few things are clear. We are putting into better perspective private interests and our obligation to the commonwealth. Then, too, I believe we are slowly learning that the Cross is indeed the ground-

plan of the universe. Revelation V, with the sacrificial character of God portrayed in a marvellous way, gives a picture of both the power and the beauty of self-offering. If millions of young men are ready to die for a dimly conceived ideal, it means that under proper inspiration, as for example, a unified church, they would be equally prepared to give their utmost for the Kingdom of God. The thing which staggers me is the horrible moral evil that war is saturated with. It is bad enough to have the world made poor in man power, but it is worse to have so much of that which remains corrupted in body and soul. The puzzle is too great for me, and one must throw the major responsibility for it on God. All most of us can do it to keep the little area of our direct responsibility as sweet and undefiled as we can.—*Letter, Trinity VII.*

A cable from the Presiding Bishop urges me to go to Russia. May the kind God guide and sustain a perplexed and overborne man.—*July 24.*

Fifteen years ago today I landed in Manila. How vivid it all is! How deep the misery, how helpless and weak, I felt! Now, fifteen years of God's patience and wise training have made me know something of life and service. What remains? Today's duty anyhow, if nothing more.—*August 24.*

I feel as though I were on a sinking ship. But I must keep a stout heart in the face of gathering clouds and enlarged difficulties. If it be God's purpose to hold me in the Philippines, I shall keep on the bridge and not go below or abandon ship. But I see clearly that another man should be at the helm—if it be God's will. If I stay and fail, I shall, God helping me, fail only in things temporal and not in things eternal, May God make all my darkness as it were a candlestick for His light.—*September 14.*

Lord, undertake for me. Quiet my selfish clamoring. Be Thou my sufficiency. All things happen according to Thy ordering. And if Thou orderest my life, there can be no room for anything but joy when Thy decree goeth forth, for Thy ordering is alone secure. No planning or scheming of mine will mar Thy plan for me. Nothing remains for me but to fit myself into Thy plan. And so shall I reach my highest good and find opportunity for my highest, fullest service. Lord, be Thou my peace. Lay hold of my faculties and train them to Thy use. Inspire me with undying devotion to Thee and Thy will. I am afraid

of my weakness. Let it be a vessel to hold Thy strength. Let me not break, O God. Fill me with divine power.—*September 15.*

If I must suffer, O God, over quarrels in Thy Church, make me a wise and patient sufferer, thinking not of my pain but pressing forward to reconcile those who are at enmity. So shall I know the meaning of the Atonement.—*October 14.*

To leave these Filipinos is to leave my first love, and God knows my heart is loyal.—*November 21.*

1918

Just as now is the time to strike for the unity of nations, so is it the time to strike for the unity of the churches. I wonder how many people at home realize that our chief difficulty in connection with the morale of the Army is due to the divided church. You meet it at every turn. Many feel it so keenly that they can see no enduring or substantial good coming out of our purely physical or human effort without some movement *pari passu* earnestly aiming for a Kingdom of God among men not divided against itself.

Last Sunday I was with our fellows just before they went into the great battle, some of them to die before the week closed. In one place the chaplain asked for the use of the church. It was refused. The school house was refused. The little town was so crowded with soldiers that the only place we could find for service where we were welcome was a barnyard. There under the wide-spreading eaves of a great barn we set up an improvised altar. The French peasants and the cattle that stood by were hospitable to us. The weather was bleak and dull. It was Bethlehem over again as the massed khaki knelt in the litter of straw before the Christ of Bethlehem. There was no room for Him in the inn. All that exclusiveness can do it to shut out men from itself and drive them nearer to God. Sometimes ecclesiasticism is so cold and cruel with its anathemas and lack of vision that one wonders how God can continue to use it for His Kingdom—if He does.

It seems to me the time has come for us to do something daring and loving for the Kingdom's sake. It is antediluvian to continue thinking in mere terms of continuity or of yesterday. We must both think and act in terms of the new order, in terms of the Kingdom of God. Individual effort, of course, must be continued and has its effect. But the churches should act. The constitutional assembly of every one should meet for the definite purpose of moving for a Conference on the

peace of the churches, with no other aim to distract—our own General Convention should lead. Not the House of Bishops alone but the whole Convention. Then the churches willing to share in such a Conference should do so, regardless of those which might choose to sit apart. The world is falling to pieces, the churches are tagging on behind the armies, and nothing is being done that is worthy the name of witness-bearing for unity as Christ begs of us to interpret it. Happy the church that takes the lead in such an adventure of faith!—*Letter, Easter III.*

One is cowardly, always anticipating troubles, most of which do not materialize. Yet I can see this: sectarian jealousies can easily arise and I must face the possibility of crucifixion. Lord, I am neither brave nor good. Thou hast given me an ideal to hold aloft and to safeguard. Grant that my weakness may be Thy opportunity to declare Thy power and glory. Prevent me from wavering or falling away. If suffering be increased and failure be my lot, yet out of my wreckage rescue the ideal of unity and brotherhood. I see new defects constantly. I talk too easily and have not that measure of reserve which is consonant with loyalty. One talks too freely because of the spirit of exaltation. Would that I could talk with such complete exclusion of self that there would be no object in choosing a topic except the truth and a desire to promote it. Lord, help me to this ideal.—*July 26.*

The horrors of war and its savagery increase. God grant that we may in the end declare to all ages the futility of force as an agent of God's Kingdom.—*July 28.*

Heavy problems and a heavy heart. Lord, help me to welcome the heavy problems in Thy name, and rid me of the heavy heart. Let me rejoice that I am still trusted with hard tasks and responsible duties. Arm me for the fight and so relieve my conscience of the memory of past sins which weight heavily, that I may be free to give myself without distraction to my responsibilities. Make me clear-headed and stout-hearted.—*July 29.*

O God, make me at my latter end true to the voices, voices which are the call of all the cloud of witnesses including St. Michael and St. Katherine and St. Margaret. To be true at the end means to be true now. Often have I suppressed and disregarded the voices of God and His holy ones. Now, O God, clear the mists which obscure my soul, wrestle with and overthrow my self-will and vanity and pettiness. Give

me vision and sustain me in the times when only faith is left me and I am alone yet not alone. Faith is that "dear joy whereon every virtue is based." Give to me large and enduring faith. Two things we must expect: adversity and opposition, but it is wrong to magnify into adversity and opposition, the little pebbles of trouble that ought not to ruffle the soul. If a great door is opened unto us, there will of necessity be many adversaries. To be without fear—that is the great thing I ask of Thee, my God. To be really glad when I fall into afflictions and temptations is only Christian. To do the right is to be safe and to have within the peace of God which passeth all understanding.—*August 8.*

The irrevocable character of the past is an appalling fact. It is as fixed as a rock is in the universe. So much of the past, most of it as I look back through my life, has consisted in wrong choices, wronging others as well as myself. I think I could bear the lash so far as it tears my own back, but I cannot bear it as I hear the sickening thuds on the backs of others. There are times when I seem to myself to be responsible for the whole world's misery. I have been cowardly, fearful of the opinion of men, self-indulgent, lustful, lazy. Now, Lord, what is my hope? Truly my hope is even in Thee. If I could but be sure that Thou wilt heal the wounds in others which directly or indirectly I have inflicted, I would try to be content to go unhealed myself. I plead with Thee to do that great thing which Thou alone hast power to do—turn the darkness of others into light, their sadness into joy, their injury into blessing. And, Lord, if there be any small way in which I can serve Thee and them to this end, show it to me and wed me to it. O Lord, the heaviness of my soul crushes me. This I know is adding sin to sin—remorse lies down under its own self-imposed load; penitence rises and walks whatever its weight of woe. Be to me, however hidden, wisdom and strength, Good Jesus. Help me to ignore all absence of happiness and peace and joy, and to do my work as though I had them. Brooding over my own woes is only to aggravate them and to incapacitate myself for the task of the day. Lord, help me to rise out of the valley of self-abasement to Thy holy mount and walk with Thee. If I cannot alter the past, I can at least leave it with Thee to deal with. It is only agony for one to attempt to reshape its immovable mass, but the past is as wax in Thy hands to Whom there is neither past, present, or future. Lord, my faith turns to Thee as Saviour. All that I am, that is the vessel of the past, I commend to Thee. Beat me into comely form upon Thy anvil.—*August 9.*

Am tired but I dare not stop. Must press on. I feel that were I to stop, it would be the end. I could never start again. If I die pressing forward for Thee and for those who are Thine, Thou wilt not be angry, O God. Yet I wonder at times whether I have any business to be where I am, whether it would not have been more in the purpose of God for me to have remained on the battle-line of the Far East. The night is dark. Lead Thou me on. I do not ask for brightness for the sake of the joy that brightness brings but for the strength it lends. I can go on in darkness if God leads.—*August 10.*

Come what may, O God, make all and everything the handmaid of Thy purposes and of Thy coming Kingdom. I am more afraid of shame, public shame, than anything I know. Help me to welcome that, even as Thou, O Jesus, didst welcome it as part of the Cross, the chief part of the Cross. Thou, all holy, didst welcome it. How much more I, all sinful.—*August 11.*

Tranquility of spirit is what I lack, O God. It is always elation (though seldom this) or timidity and apprehension and despondency. Lord, lift me clear of the pit of darkness by Thy love. If I must walk in darkness, let Thy sure hand guide me even when I think I am alone and unattended. Feed my deep inner self with Thyself and Thy life.—*August 26.*

At times all this effort of ours looks like a puff of wind. Yet, O God, though I am indeed unworthy to aspire so high, I long for true service and the fulfillment of Thy purposes. I desire to bring to these soldier boys the best, the best that is none too good.—*September 4.*

One cannot forget that we stand at the edge of a wrecked and broken world. The young and hopeful must be builders of the new.—*November 11.*

To stay with the best to the uttermost and to the last—that is loyalty. Loyalty burned with a white flame during the war—loyalty to God's cause, loyalty to home, loyalty to country. Keep the flame burning, for the loyal man is the friend of God and the friend of man—*Notebook, late November.*

It is victory we celebrate today, not peace. Victory is an achievement following on struggle: peace is an established condition following on victory.—*Ibid.*

Let us live for the things our comrades have died for. They thought dying was gain to make the world safe for democracy. They challenge us to live that democracy may be made safe for the world!—*Ibid.*

It is not that I would deprecate what we have achieved. Rather is it that I would exalt God and His hidden processes, operating in and through and beyond us. The only hope of our nation and of the world is the frank recognition that God is King—never more so than at those moments when we take full credit to ourselves for those matters in which God, not ourselves, was the chief, though invisible and modest, actor.—*Ibid.*

1919

One thing is sure—I have been making great demands on God all these years and have been giving Him but little, keeping the center of my life from Him. He has been making demands upon me, and I have fed His hunger with crumbs from my table which He has furnished sumptuously. Now I would see each day what I can do (and be) for Him. He is athirst for me. I can serve Him who has served me. There is no need to wait. The first step is now and the clasp of His arms is instant and secure. I lack courage. Fears enfold me. I do not ask or seek for remission of penalty or exemption from pain. I do ask that penalty and pain may not overwhelm me, and that I may have courage and strength to bear, to my own purification and the edification of Thy Church. O God, illumine with wisdom and fire and with courage my blind and fainting soul.—*April 28.*

May God help me to be patient in suffering blame and pain for the things known to me and unknown which's fault. I have suffered little in life that was not my own fault. Now I may be called upon to suffer for the faults of others. May I be like Him who being reviled, reviled not again.—*April 29.*

My new life, the last chapter of my life, begins now. God make it worthy for Jesus Christ's sake. I am but a shadow of what I should be, but what I am I would give to God completely and always.—*May 16.*

Lord, I would come to Thee, I, a bad child, to the Perfect Child.—*July 21.*

I am spiritually sluggish. May the good God arouse me to close-girded effort while strength remains to think and will and plan!—*July 24.*

1920

All the churches are in God's hands, each with its special gifts and experience. Now we must find a way to place the treasures of all at the disposal of all.—*August 23.*

1922

The world of today is so very mixed and curious and confused that one's only refuge is in pure philosophy—i. e. the search for God as the only reality, and His purpose as the only vocation. I have been reading the Neo-Platonist Plotinus and his modern, and very wonderful, interpreter, [Dean] Inge. After all, little else matters if one's full personality is set Godward and the Kingdom of Heavenward.—*Letter, August 8.*

1923

The mystery of the tragic is largely solved by the young man Jesus, who mounted the cross at an age when it is hardest to die. More than that, His death became His chiefest asset of service and the supreme joy of His deathless life. By that way, which God knows so well, your grief eventually will be transformed into your chief glory.—*Letter, February 6.*

I always try to follow a redeemed soul in the life beyond., with his blameless life, his lofty purpose and his simple faith, is ahead at home in the great society of Christ. His love for you is all that it has ever been and will remain unchanged until you meet again—and in the meantime there is the unbreakable mystic bond that defies all forces that would separate.—*Ibid.*

It is good in praying for the beloved dead to let our minds soar a bit, so that we shall think of them in their new and expanded life very much as we would were they across the seas, only with unclouded confidence, for we know that they are free from all alarms and are joyous and strong.—*Letter, March 11.*

Why should I have been allotted so many years is a mystery. As I see it, my life has been so shamefully small and broken and stained, compared with what it might easily have been, that I marvel at God's patience. May the balance be better and more worthy!—*April 9 (61st birthday).*

(Nearing sunny America in a calm sea and under a cloudless sky—America with her limitless power and opportunity) Make God awaken us, her citizens, to a realization of what we may do if we will to further the commonwealth of mankind! My own little sphere is as yet an untended garden with many weeds to pull and many flowers to plant. O God, open my eyes to see, cleanse my life to do, nerve my courage to bear, all that Thy will wills for me. Grant me to love, to rejoice, to be tranquil, to be pure, to be true, to trust, so that before I go hence and be no more seen I may be known by Thee as a loyal and loving bondservant of Thine and of those who are Thine.—*June 16.*

As one grows in experience, the tragic character of life becomes more and more evident. On the other hand, the brave and often glad way in which people meet their troubles is a witness to the triumph over tragedy which makes life worth while. It is of no special value for us to speculate as to why these things must be. The world is what it is by God's appointment, and our business is to feel for His hand "among all the changes and chances of this mortal life." It is a hand of love. Out of all the dimness and pain will be born an "eternal weight of glory." I do not know what "glory" means, but it does suggest that complete satisfaction and victory for which the human heart longs. In the meantime we must play our part, not by lapsing into self-pity or succumbing to depression, but by showing ourselves strong in the strength of Christ who went through the most extreme suffering with tranquility. After all, it is not death that is so dreadful. It is the painful and, in your daughter's case, distressing and tragic avenue to death from which one shrinks. The consolation remains that God is true and will not leave any experience without ultimate and surprising compensation. We are still "prisoners of hope."—*Letter, July 23.*

Life is tragedy. Our Lord illustrated the fact. But that is not all. He also illustrated in His own experience that life is triumph through tragedy,

"Who in the Garden secretly
And on the Cross on high
Should teach His brethren and inspire
To suffer and to die."

My philosophy is that when at last we get into the Beyond we shall discover that the worst tragedies, well met here, actually become the highlights of triumph and joy over there. In the meantime, try to

quicken the life of faith which gives substance to things hoped for, and tests the reality of things not seen.—*Letter, September 28.*

About prayers: I often deliberately sit down or kneel with my pen with the intention of writing prayers. Again they flash into my mind—phrases, petitions—at any moment. Prayer should be a habit so that it mingles with activity, naturally and simply. The really difficult thing is contemplation—fixing one's attention on the unseen and its contents until it becomes to us the super-real.

"The angels keep their ancient places.
Turn but a stone to start a wing.
'Tis we, 'tis our estranged faces
That miss the many splendored thing."

—*Letter, December 10.*

1924

I am not a valetudinarian. I want to live and meet what is yet to be of problem and task and joy and pain. I have never been more keenly interested in, or less fearful over, the troubles of the moment. Somehow they seem to me a field of exercise for one's powers which nothing short of trouble and perplexity can provide. Out of the present controversy will come a new and heightened conception of God and the truth, if history is any guide.—*Letter, January 4.*

How comparatively unimportant length of days is! I have some pain and symptoms which may mean the beginning of the end. Knowing pretty well what I may expect, I must keep going to the last, God willing. To favor myself or spare myself to prolong my life is distasteful.—*January 30.*

Three things of which I spoke a week ago are our constant need—self-consecration, passion, and poise. Each flows from the other, and all are tied tight in a knot of love.—*Letter, February 3.*

I am slowly crawling back to life, as I hope, after having travelled for nearly four months on the confines of and in the valley of the shadow of death. . . . One is growing old. After my experience, I have a chastened and enlarged view of life and of God.—*Letter, February 8.*

In bad physical trim, but must go on and do what has to be done with a smile and a cheer. I suppose my rickety old heart will stop short one

of these days—as is not an uncommon habit of hearts. I should like to live a bit longer—not that it makes much difference. But it looks to me as though I had done pretty much all that I am capable of doing. Certainly I have had a highly privileged life and a longer one than I used to expect. My contribution to my generation has been small and of little worth.—*March 24.*

As a boy, the first motto given me by a Crimean veteran was “*magna est veritas et praevalebit.*” I still believe it, and I know from experience that the only successful way to combat what is wrong is to present what is right.—*Letter, March 24.*

I have never been, nor am I, an optimist. My soul has plumbed the depths of gloom and my experience inclines me (probably my temperament) to pessimism. It is belief in the living Christ that keeps my feet on a rock. It would be easy enough to make two or three sects out of our Communion—indeed it would be along the lines of least resistance. But patience and quietness of soul are better. As a friend said, as he placed a trilobite in my hand, “Does not God’s patience declare itself?”—*Ibid.*

Life for men of our generation is drawing to its close. So far as I am concerned controversy for me is over.—*Ibid.*

In that the living Christ is in the midst of His Church, salvation is not far from us.—*Letter, Easter Even.*

Another birthday. How little I deserve it! More and more courage is needed as I move toward the close of life. After sickness and suffering have done their worst, may it be that I shall be able to say with Masefield’s blind beggar, “My own courage, that they did not take.”—*April 9.*

In my own way, as God guides me, I am trying to do my part in present unrest. I cannot be unhappy, because I trust God to guide the minds and lives of honest seekers of Him and His truth today as in the past. Nor can I take the way individuals may have behaved in the past as my pattern of policy and conduct. Christ, as the Gospels portray Him, and as I know Him, alone can determine the course to pursue. It seems to me a moment when the greatest thing a man can do is to use his beliefs to the utmost in common life and so bear his witness to Christ.—*Letter, April 12.*

In these later years, I have come to view life as being in itself tragedy. There is no escape. If it does not come in one form, it does in another.

What then? Here Christ and Christianity come in—not as a consolation merely when we share the common lot, but as an armor and a transforming power, which makes us victorious in defeat and in all things super-conquerors. Love is invincible, whether it be God's love for us, or ours for Him, or for one another. The companionship you and your husband had through the happy years of your married life is still yours and will be a thing of joy forever. Neither his love for you nor yours for him has been weakened, much less destroyed, by death. On the contrary, it has been intensified. The face to face comradeship may be suspended for a time. In the meanwhile, it is for us who remain to prepare ourselves to be at our best when the moment of reunion comes.—*Letter, June 23.*

As I have moved on in years, I have reached a stable and tried philosophy of life which I think is Christian, and, so far as I am concerned, invigorating in every conceivable vicissitude. I might call it Christianized Stoicism or better still Christianized Neo-Platonism. The first grim fact frankly to admit without reservations or self-deceit is that this mortal life is tragedy. The next thing is to discover how to deal with it. Christ in supreme tragedy has declared by a classic instance that the worst cannot injure or destroy anything of real value or importance. Personality is superior to the worst shock of evil, provided personality is allied to God in Christ. Love is not only unharmed and undimmed by sorrow, shame, pain, and death, but rises out of it burnished, beautified and more than triumphant. Masefield's great poem, "Good Friday," brings this out as no other literary masterpiece with which I am familiar save Holy Writ. The blind beggar becomes a replica in his sphere of the victor of the Cross. Our worst, in the last analysis our only, enemy is fear, and "perfect love casteth out all fear." But there is something beyond that still. Tragedy professes to be the destroyer of peace and joy, whereas the true believer in God discovers that peace and joy of the enduring sort are born in turbulence and suffering. In one sense, life is a game. We make our adventure boldly, and if outer defeat is our portion—well, "my own courage, that they did not take." To me the one nightmare is guilt or the fear of guilt. Even then the forgiveness of God is so complete that He shows us how to make capital out of our worst sorrow and blackest sin. So, our triumph is complete.—*Letter, July 10.*

Another towering fact is that mortality is our kindergarten experience, our earliest conscious knowledge of a life that is not only everlasting,

but, more mysterious and wonderful still, also eternal. Space and time are seeming tyrants, but neither is to be feared, for our immortality smiles at nothing as we begin to practice it here and await with reverent curiosity for the wonders that are hidden behind successive veils of experience, of which death is the last. Of course, no one can help the suffering which comes in bereavement. Indeed, who would escape it, if he could? It is the one means left to us by which to declare the reality and depth of our love for the one taken. Were there no pain, or little pain, it would mean there had been no love or little love. Go on unanxiously, with the glad knowledge that you and yours are tied by a bond against which death is as powerless as is a cloud to extinguish the sun, or a hammer to destroy a moonbeam.—*Ibid.*

I did not suppose that there could be any difference of opinion as to life's character. Probably there is none when we analyze it. It seems to me that our first duty is to recognize that life is tragedy, and, because this is so, it gives us our opportunity. Until we admit the fact, our capacity and responsibility are hidden. Tragedy is the raw material out of which victory and abiding splendor are woven. There can be no triumph without a war. The greater the war, the more splendid the triumph. It is surely true that "man is born to trouble as the sparks fly upward." Tears and crying, pain and dying, hold a commanding place in mortality. But we conquer tears by weeping, pain by suffering, death by dying, after a certain manner and with a certain motive. This is the whole story of the great representative life, Jesus Christ. . . . The symbol of the Christian is the Cross, which stands for concentrated pain, shame, sorrow and death, out of which comes freedom, glory, joy and immortality. The true Christian faces life exactly as it is in its worst aspects—fearlessly, joyously, triumphantly, and reaches the summit of life's splendor by plunging into the stormiest stretches of mortality, and garnering therein a freedom, an unquenchable exultation, a victory, an imperturbable peace and serenity which surpass anything else life has to offer. —*Letter, August 10.*

Our chief danger is that we should try to escape suffering and trouble. It is bound to come, and if we have been using religion as an insurance against tribulation, when tribulation comes, the shock will be terrific. On the other hand, if we quietly accept the worst as being possible in our case, when it comes we deploy our spiritual forces so as to make the trouble, whatever it may be, an actual asset. This is being a super-victor. When evil strikes us, we are never taken by surprise; we are

not crushed, however much we suffer, and faith rises glorious in the night of gloom. Reckoning with life as a tragedy, in which we must take our full share, is the beginning of that human greatness that obscures all else that lays claim to greatness. It is this that makes men free and sunny and adventurers; they have nothing to fear in the worst because, through the Cross and the present cooperation of the Victor (who is also the victim) of the Cross, the worst is an opportunity, clay wherewith to mould greatness, a whetstone on which to grind off our angles, a polishing wheel for our wit, our gladness, our buoyancy, a foil against which to display our immortality.—*Ibid.*

Those great words of Joseph Conrad have stood by me as a beacon light through many years: "I have a positive horror of losing even for one moment that complete possession of myself which is the first condition of good service."—*Letter, October 22.*

Keep your energies within bounds. That does not mean mere external activities but your inside world. You have got to keep it at peace and at rest. There is no need of loading up your time so that you are always pursued by your duties instead of pursuing them.—*Ibid.*

It is a satisfaction, is it not? to look over the stormy past and see how God has guided and sustained when the sky was darkest.—*Letter, December 2.*

1925

The excursion through time may grow more complicated and perplexing as one grows nearer the end, but it also increases in interest and worthwhileness. The old days at have more vividness than some of the happenings in between.—*Letter, May 1.*

The first Communion Prayer of Maria Consolato Ferrero, aet. 9: "O Good Jesus, come into my poor heart: come and help me raise my spiritual edifice: build it so well that it may merit to be placed by Thee in the heavenly Jerusalem."—*July 12.*

It is a query in my mind as to whether civilization, as is actually is, is worth saving. It needs such an enormous amount of conversion that our first duty, it seems to me, is to separate the chaff and preserve the wheat.—*Letter, October 28.*

1926

Why should we experiment in doubtful fields when we have the sky above us as the limits of endeavor upwards? Why play with flame at the risk of being consumed, instead of playing with the stars at the risk of becoming immortal?—*Notebook, February 18.*

Christianity is not a straw to be grasped at when we are drowning in difficulty, when the life of gaiety has lost its zest, when there is nothing left except religion. It is a thing to live by, instantly and always through fair weather or foul. It is the key to life, it covers every feature of life, every department, social, business, political, domestic, dignifying, empowering, stabilizing them.—*Notebook, Sermon for Easter Day.*

The road winds up the hill all the way. It is part—I may say a chief part—of the mystery of life that these things should be, and it ends in what would be tragedy had not our Lord converted it to glory.—*Letter, September 18.*

I do not know what lies ahead, but I have got to that stage when I can at least move out into what future remains in this world with a degree of equanimity that stands in sharp contrast to much of the past turmoil of my life.—*Letter, December 27.*

1927

It may be that it is because I have gone far on life's journey and am rapidly nearing the end that time seems to me a small matter and that I do not grow impatient. Yet it has always been so, more or less. It is the certainty of the goal which steadies me. There is nothing more sure than that in the multitude which no man could number, toward which we are whirling, no one will be lost in the crowd. No one can be mistaken for another, so individual is each of the human beings that "has breathed this human breath."—*Letter, January 27.*

The Kingdom of Heaven is composed only of little children, or those who, growing old, retain or regain their childhood.—*Ibid.*

Responsibility, such as that conferred on me, carries with it that stimulus and sense of honor which spurs one to do his best. Privilege and responsibility are opposite sides of the same coin.—*June 3.*

The major part of knowledge and of life lies in the unexplored tomorrow. There is more to be known of God in Christ than what we

have thus far discovered. The future is vaster far than the past. The truth is greater than its definition.—*July 3.*

Though the years roll on, I find more in the future today than when I was twenty. The way to keep young, as I find, is to look ahead and to consort with young people.—*Notebook.*

I am no laissez-faire optimist. . . . The world does not progress by chance. Human development is not a necessity. It comes through the choice and labor of individuals or groups of individuals.—*Ibid.*

My gravest difficulty—in this I agree with Bishop Gore—is to believe that God is love. The ruthless, inexorable ways of nature are staggering.—*Ibid.*

“Think things through, and you’ll think things true” has been a sort of a motto of my life. Thinking of this sort leads you away from credulity into doubt before it brings you to belief. But when your belief comes, it comes to stay.—*Ibid.*

The two great prizes of human life are fellowship with God and, in Him, fellowship with one another. There is no other wealth. The dimensions of fellowship—height: high as God; breadth: broad as the human race; depth: deep as our capacity.—*Ibid.*

I wish I could believe that reconciliation between the Christian Religion and Science had been reached. I cannot find it to be the case. Religion of a sort and science can walk hand in hand, but not so the Christian religion and science. There is a better understanding between the two than formerly, but there is a long road to travel before they can be called friends. It is into the Incarnation that I plunge headlong and find in it my sole salvation. It does not answer my questions, but it abates my questioning. If “The Word made flesh” always addressed God as Father, and always lived as His son, if with almost His last words He rent the heavens with an unanswered question, then I can afford to follow in His steps.—*Ibid.*

When I was younger, I firmly believed I would live to see the phalanxes of Jesus Christ united in one church. Though my belief that this is bound to be still abides unshaken, now I look with the eyes of Balaam:

“I see him but not now
I behold him but not nigh.”

—*Ibid.*

1929

Shall I see the new year through? The year just closed does not find me a much better man. Greater honesty of thought and speech, greater humility—I wonder whether I have any humility at all—greater trust of others—all this I covet. The close of the *Religio Medici* voices my mind on Christian faith. I cannot understand the need or value of controversy in the Church.—*January 1.*

The Things That Matter—that will be the title of my next book. The year has been illuminative, and the close view of death, which has been my privilege, has made much of secondary importance slough off and the residuum stand out in glorious relief. As Professor Boys said when dying: “The best commentary on the Bible is the edge of the grave.” It is also the best commentary on life—life that has no end. It is not that fear enters in to any extent. That would be to view things with morbid and distorted mind. It is like a great white light shining on all things and revealing final values.—*January 2.*

If I have in any way inspired or helped your life, give God the praise. I have had rather a mean illness, and at times have been in, or skirted, the valley of the shadow of death. It is not a gruesome vale. Sir Thomas Browne’s words are apt: “. . . if length of Days be thy Portion, make it not thy Expectation. Reckon not upon long life; think every day the last, and live always beyond thy account. He that so often surviveth his Expectation lives many Lives, and will scarce complain of the shortness of his days.”—*Letter, January 3.*

During the past year, I have often skirted along the confines of death. . . . I have come through, sloughing off many things I used to count important, and clinging with new eagerness to the few outstanding truths which are the root of the matter. You may be interested in my conclusions:

1. The vital truth of Christianity is the Incarnation. Belief in that is fundamental and indispensable. It must be within and mystical, let what attendant means and agents play the part they may. Many a Quaker stands at the top-most pinnacle of communion with God in Christ because of his grand belief, practical and unbroken, in this central, controlling fact. The Roman Catholic Church frankly admits

the fine Christianity there is outside and independent of the Church in the limited sense of the papal system.

2. We may wish it otherwise, but there always has been, there are, and always will be in religion generally, and in our Church in particular, two widely different approaches to God—through priesthood and sacrament, and through the direct ascent of the soul to its Source. The attempt on the part of either school to think of its own position as being exclusive brings controversy, and ends in cleavage.

3. To understand others is the greatest feat of human effort. To understand them is to be moved with compassion and admiration, is to win, not to alienate, is to promote in the fullest sense God's Kingdom, and not to hinder it. Lausanne taught me many things, not the least being the fine quality of the truths of Protestantism and their efficacy.

4. "By their fruits ye shall know them"—Christian character is the final test of the truth. To that we must bend our energies. It is not belief and practice. There is a type of character that is peculiarly Christian, whether you find it in Francis of Assisi or Wesley, in Keble or Phillips Brooks, in Stanley Jones or Bishop Gore.

It is a strange and interesting world, and to get at its heart we must do so with a whip for our prejudices in one hand, and a spur to our sincerity and honesty before God in the other.—*Letter, January 8.*

Got word of the death of,, Sometimes the foundations of life crumble of a sudden.—*January 12.*

As life goes on, it buries its foundations in the deep unseen.—*Letter, January 15.*

Though I am about to enter my 68th year, my interior life, at any rate, has lost none of its buoyancy or hope. I am as keen for things as I ever was. Indeed, I might say I am keener, but I have come to realize that I must limit severely the work I do, and confine it to one type, if I am going to last.—*Letter, February 13.*

No one ever achieves—whether Vergil, who wanted to burn his *Aeneid* because he felt it to be so far from the ideal he had in his soul, to Wilson, who in today's [London] "Times" is scored by that brilliant,

self-appreciative politician, Winston Churchill. Life is made up of disappointed hope, but hope, once planted, eventually achieves. We must not confuse our own success and the ultimate success of an ideal which we have held.—*Ibid.*

Cambridge walked away from Oxford in the boat race, winning by 7½ lengths.—*March 24 (Last entry in diary).*

[Note: Bishop Brent died 27 March 1929 in Lausanne, Switzerland.]

Orthodoxy, Ecumenical Movement, and Anglicanism

The Moscow Conference of 1948*

By Richard G. Salomon†



THE exchange of visits between representatives of American Churches and the Orthodox Church in the Soviet Union in March and June, 1956, has brought the problem of the relations between Western and Eastern Christianity once more to public attention. The following study was written before these visits. It is not concerned with the development of the most recent years, but only with what certainly was the most important event in the inner life of Orthodox Christendom in the last decade.

The Moscow Conference held in July 1948 was the only occasion in a long time on which representatives of almost all Orthodox Churches came together for discussion. They were among themselves; no regard had to be taken to the feelings of outsiders as in the discussions with non-Orthodox visitors. It is for this reason that the proceedings of the conference have a permanent documentary value.

Like our Lambeth Conferences, the Moscow Conference was not a Church council with legislative power in dogma or discipline, but only a consultative meeting for the discussion of general problems of the Communion. The word Communion is used here on purpose. We are accustomed to speak of "The Orthodox Church," but are not always aware of the fact that the formula only means an ideal unity, not a single organization under one Church government like the Roman Church. The similarity with the Anglican Communion is obvious.

There are the very old Churches of Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem and Constantinople, the Churches of the four old patriarchates, which

*The major source for this study is *Actes de la Conférence des Chefs et des Représentants des Eglises Orthodoxes Autocephales, réunis à Moscou . . . 8-18 Juillet 1948* (2 vols., Moscou, Editions du Patriarcat de Moscou, 1950). The most interesting points of this material occur, in English translation, in *Major Portions of the Proceedings of the Conference of the Heads of Autocephalous Orthodox Churches*, published by the Y.M.C.A. Press, and available at 291 Broadway, New York City.

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exist today as they did in the fifth century. Much reduced in size, in numbers of communicants, they still retain their status as independent Churches, on one and the same level. The Patriarch of Constantinople has a traditional primacy of honor, not of authority, among them. Newer units have been added through the centuries; some of them very large, some small; but all of them independent, *autocephalous* ("self-headed") Churches with either a patriarch as their head, like Russia, Bulgaria and Serbia, or directed by a body of bishops, a Holy Synod, like Greece, or by a metropolitan like the smaller Churches of Albania and Cyprus. Together, all these Churches, about twelve in number, form what is called the Orthodox Church. The theoretical assumption is that this Church has one common ruling head: the Ecumenical Council of all Orthodox Churches, to which is ascribed unlimited authority in faith and discipline; but the last council of this character met in 879 A. D., and there is very little chance that it will meet again in any foreseeable future.

The minutes of the Moscow conference give, at the first glance, the impression of strong cooperation and far-reaching unanimity. It was convoked at the occasion of a historical jubilee to celebrate the 500th anniversary of Russia's ecclesiastical independence, of the liberation of Russia from the ecclesiastical administration of Constantinople, of the transformation of Russia from a missionary province of the Byzantine Church into a national, "autocephalous" Church. It is hardly necessary to state that the invitation to this celebration did not come from the Patriarch of Constantinople—whom we usually and erroneously consider a supreme head of the Orthodox Church—but from the man who was to receive the congratulations, from the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia.

The invitation was extended to all Orthodox Churches, with the exception of the independent or schismatic Orthodox bodies in this country, and most of them came. Even the Patriarch of Constantinople, for whom this really was not a day of historical jubilation, had the good graces of allowing himself to be represented by a delegate, who, however, was only to convey good wishes and not to participate in the transactions of the conference.

It must have been a colorful crowd that assembled in the Sokolniki Cathedral in Moscow on July 8, 1948: a galaxy of patriarchs, metropolitans, bishops, archpriests, archabbots, hieromonachs, protodeacons, etc. A wonderful pageant it was, led by the Patriarch Aleksej of Moscow, the host and president of the assembly.

There was only one divergent figure at the president's table, in drab civilian clothes; and yet a "very important person" in terms of Russian Church life: Mr. G. G. Karpov, chairman of the Council for the Affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church, in the Ministers' Council of the Soviet Union, the embodiment of the controlling, supervising, omnipresent power of the state, the successor of the influential Oberprocuror ("Chief Proctor"), lay director of the Russian Church under the Tsars.

The formal celebrations of the jubilee, duly reported with the wording of all the speeches, overflowing with mutual praise, self-praise and sweet words, are of no special interest. We have such things in this country too. There is only one speech of some significance among these addresses, the very cool, though polite, message of Mr. Karpov, the government's representative, which, of course, points out that now, under the Soviet regime, "the Russian Church enjoys full freedom in its *inner ecclesiastical life*," and brazen-facedly asserts that Russia and the satellite states are "the only countries in the world in which the Church is not under the domination of the State." He did not mention, of course, the unpleasant fact that the Soviet constitution allows *anti-religious*, but *not* religious, propaganda. The Russian Church has learned to play its part in this peculiar setup: the solemn session ended, conforming to Russian etiquette in those years, with the patriarch's motion to send a telegram with greetings to Joseph Stalin, wishing him well in his great work for the peace of the whole world. The minutes register that this motion was accepted "with enthusiasm"; but there is no indication that the telegram was ever answered.

On the following day, the assembly got down to conference business: two days were taken up with full sessions; several more with committee work; on the last day, a final full session adopted the committee resolutions, and went through the usual formal exercises of concluding such conventions, in the same forms in which we would do it.

The program of the conference, carefully prepared, included four different points. They are dealt with here in the sequence of uninteresting, moderately interesting, and very interesting for us.

The first was entirely technical. It was a discussion of the problems resulting from the use of different forms of the calendar in the various Eastern Churches—the hoary problem of how to find the true date of Easter, a problem which already 1800 years ago brought discord into the ancient Church, and is now only more complicated for the Orthodox because of the recent adoption of the Gregorian calendar in civil life. A provisional solution was found.

The second point, not surprising to anybody even slightly familiar with the history of Eastern Christendom, was the relations—or non-relations—of the Papacy and the Eastern Orthodox Church. Four long lectures, delivered in the full session, and extensive committee debates fill about 250 pages in the book. They give the impression that things and thoughts have not changed much in the last nine hundred years, since the day in 1054 when Cardinal Humbert put the papal bull of excommunication on the altar in Saint Sophia. Among the oldest monuments of national Russian literature, there are tracts against the Latins. What the Archbishop of Kazan, the Bulgarian Metropolitan of Plovdiv, a Polish-Orthodox archpriest, and a Roumanian professor of theology had to say about or against Rome in 1948 differed from the old polemics of the 12th century only in quantity, not in ideas. Rome is the root of all evil; the Papacy is responsible for the two world wars;¹ the Vatican is anti-Christian;² the Papacy prepares the soil for atheism;³ Roman Catholics are not allowed to love their country;⁴ Rome, relentlessly attacking the Orthodox Church, will finally share the destiny of Babylon and Nineveh;⁵ the Vatican does not love our Lord Jesus Christ;⁶ the Vatican is in business together with J. P. Morgan & Co.;⁷ etc.—to show only a few flowers from this rich posy of abuse.

Summing up all these accusations and many more, the final resolution on this point ends by praying to our Lord that He may enlighten the Roman Catholic hierarchy and make them recognize the immensity of the abyss of sins into which they have brought the Church of the West.

Enough of this. It appears that the Orthodox Church is as unchanging in her ways of condemning as in her dogmatics. From what was said in the conference, the aim of the discussions is not quite clear. High-sounding words were spoken indicating that the Orthodox Church should *do something* “to heal the spiritual blindness of the Catholic Church.”⁸ At other points, *defence* against Rome appears as the most essential task; again, at others, the Orthodox Church is advised to prepare for *attack*.⁹ At any rate, *final victory* was proclaimed as being certain; the reader is, however, left without answer to the very legiti-

¹*Actes de la Conférence . . .*, I, 129.

²*Ibid.*, I, 130.

³*Ibid.*, I, 89.

⁴*Ibid.*, I, 129.

⁵*Ibid.*, I, 99.

⁶*Ibid.*, I, 132.

⁷*Ibid.*, I, 133.

⁸*Actes de la Conférence . . .*, I, 89.

⁹*Ibid.*, I, 197.

mate question, how such an attack could be launched. It is not very likely that Orthodox missionaries in Ireland, Spain or Italy—even if such enterprises were feasible—would reap a very rich harvest. So this whole chapter of the transactions leaves the impression of a very empty demonstration, just an exercise to let off steam, in strange contrast to the ever-repeated affirmations of Christian love.

The third point of the agenda is nearer to our own interest. 1948 was the year of Amsterdam, the first assembly of the World Council of Churches, the forerunner of the Evanston assembly in 1954. As a matter of course the Orthodox Churches had been invited to Amsterdam: and it was quite natural that this question had been put on the program of the conference, the more so since from the beginning of the ecumenical movement in the 1920's the attitude of the various Orthodox Churches had not been unanimous. In former years, before World War II, most of them had cooperated in one or the other form: by sending delegates to Geneva, Lausanne, Stockholm and Edinburgh. The Russian Church was never represented in these earlier congresses; up to World War II, she was cut off from any relations with the outside world, and was just able to keep alive under the persecutions of the Bolshevik government.

But even those Orthodox Churches which could participate in the ecumenical meetings were mostly not enthusiastic; only the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Church of Greece had shown great interest. But neither Constantinople nor Greece took part in the work of the Moscow Conference; their appearance in Moscow was restricted to the delivery of a congratulatory message in the first ceremonial assembly—a first hint to what appears much clearer as you go on in the minutes: the fact that the unanimity in the Orthodox Communion is not quite what it seems to be to the superficial onlooker. There is a more or less outspoken conflict between the Greek and the Slavic Orthodox Churches, which came out in the open in a committee discussion concerning the monasteries on Mount Athos, with bitter recriminations by Serbian and Bulgarian committee members against the tyranny of the Greek Athos monks, for making life in the community of the Holy Mountain almost impossible for monks of Slavic nationality. The accusers spoke very frankly, and the accused—Greece and Constantinople—were not present. The Greeks evidently are not too happy about Russia's claims for leadership within the Orthodox Communion. Lip service was of course paid to the equality of all Orthodox Churches; but in the official list of members

of the conference, Russia, once officially the fifth of the patriarchates, came first, before Constantinople—a little piece of protocol apt to remind us of the times of Ephesus and Chalcedon, when Constantinople and Alexandria wrestled over the precedence.

The ecumenical movement was dealt with in extensive lectures, given by a Roumanian, a Bulgarian and a Russian. The Roumanian spoke with a moderate friendliness about the World Council, though with misgivings about its predominantly Protestant character. He recommended participation, provided that the Orthodox Churches could form a united front—another indication of the inner frictions already mentioned—including even those Eastern Churches now separated from the Orthodox Church by schisms, like the Armenian, the Coptic and the various Monophysite Churches. For this purpose the Roumanian professor suggested the immediate convocation of an Orthodox Ecumenical Council—a thing plainly impossible under present political circumstances, not to mention the fact that the Amsterdam session was to begin a few weeks after the Moscow conference. Thus the liberal attitude of the Roumanian spokesman, and his recommendation of participation in Amsterdam, had only a theoretical significance.

The second contribution to this point came from a Bulgarian archbishop, and was much less conciliatory. He reported that his Church had participated in the ecumenical movement in former years, but had meanwhile discovered political influences which have ruined its purely ecclesiastical character. Therefore, the Bulgarian Orthodox Church had reconsidered and already refused the invitation to Amsterdam.

In order to understand this change of mind, it will be necessary to remember that in the years between Edinburgh (1937) and Amsterdam (1948), Bulgaria had fallen under Russian supremacy, and that the Bulgarian Church had no other choice than to toe the Russian line, which was clearly and brutally indicated in the third speech by a Russian archpriest. He congratulated his own Church on never having had any part in the movement, recriminated against Constantinople and Bulgaria for having participated, and characterized the World Council as being a "Protestant Vatican."¹⁰ He further indulged in a bit of conspicuous shadow-boxing by fighting the idea of "one Ecumenical Church," just the thing which the World Council does not want to organize, and ended with a strong, unqualified *No*.

After this performance, it is no surprise to see what happened in the committee debates on the ecumenical movement. They were en-

¹⁰*Actes de la Conférence . . .*, 1, 170.

tirely dominated by the Russians, who would not allow the slightest concession. A Russian archbishop thundered against all heretics. To prove his point, he quoted in good earnest the revelation which a great Orthodox saint, called Simeon the Fool for Christ's sake, once received: a vision in which he saw Origen burning in Hell for his heretical doctrine; and another vision, in which the Virgin refused to inspect the cell of a holy hermit, because he owned a book, at the end of which there were entered *two words* from the writings of the heresiarch Nestorius—so much does the Deity hate heresy. Quite consistently, this archbishop ended his warning against the ecumenical movement with a fitting Psalm quotation: "Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly." The final resolution was a refusal of the invitation.

The fourth point of the Moscow conference might come as a surprise to most of us: it was the problem of the recognition of Anglican orders. The reason for the appearance of this question on the agenda was a request from nobody else than the Archbishop of Canterbury. Archbishop Fisher must have felt that here was a chance to get a definitive answer to an old question.

The relations between the Anglican Church and the Orthodox Church are old, generally friendly, even fraternal. As far back as in the 17th century, some contact existed: witness the Codex Alexandrinus of the Bible in the British Museum, a gift of the Patriarch of Alexandria to King James I. One thing the two Churches certainly had in common: the opposition to Rome. In the 19th century, a romantic longing for antiquity drove some Anglicans to seek a deeper friendly understanding in the ancient Orthodox Church: people like W. John Birkbeck or Bishop Charles C. Grafton of Fond du Lac spent much energy in the attempt to establish close relations between Orthodox and Anglican, with no conspicuous success.

In our century, the Church of England went out of her way to win Orthodox friendship. Intercommunion seemed unattainable; not so the recognition of the validity of Anglican orders. It was the failure of the negotiations with Rome on Anglican orders, and Rome's refusal of recognition in the famous bull, *Apostolicae Curae* of 1896, which made the problem of recognition by the Eastern Church more interesting for many Anglicans.

An Anglican Profession of Faith was worked out in 1922 for the cognizance of Eastern Churches, and signed by over 3000 clergy and about one-sixth of the bishops, decidedly Anglo-Catholic in spirit. On

this basis, several Orthodox Churches declared themselves willing to recognize Anglican orders as valid: Constantinople in 1922, Jerusalem and Cyprus in 1923, Alexandria in 1930, Roumania in 1936, Greece in 1939. In other words, almost all of the Churches of Greek nationality; but none of the Slavic ones. Bulgaria had postponed her decision, and the largest of all, Moscow, never even considered the question.

And there is one important reservation to be made, as clearly pointed out in several of the communications of the Greek Churches; even their recognition has only a conditional character, since the final, authoritative and binding agreement can be given only by the highest authority of the Orthodox Communion: the Ecumenical Council—that General Council which has not met for a thousand years and is not likely to meet under present circumstances. So the whole proposition is largely theoretical and academic.

Nevertheless, the Archbishop of Canterbury's request set off a very thorough discussion at the Moscow Conference, in which the whole of English Church history was gone through in scholarly though not very objective lectures, and in even less objective committee debates. It is quite interesting to analyze the attitude of the various representatives: the Bulgarian speaker was moderately friendly towards the idea of recognition; the Roumanian very cautious, more negative; the Russian absolutely against it. The main objection was not the origin of the English line of bishops—unanimously they discarded the notorious fable about Mathew Parker's consecration—but England's dogmatical errors, more than anything the Anglican interpretation of holy orders (Art. 25).¹¹ They had much to say against England's association with the Swedish Protestant Church,¹² much against the Low Church and Broad Church.¹³ Strange things were asserted. The Anglicans, so we hear, are now desirous of returning to the bosom of the Orthodox Church; they are raising a cry for help in their shipwreck,¹⁴ *repenting* for their past and full of inexpressible love for Orthodoxy.¹⁵ The idea—formulated by Pusey—that Eastern, Roman and Anglican Churches are the three branches of the One Church is flatly rejected;¹⁶ the Orthodox Church is the only and eternal depository of revealed truth and as such infallible.¹⁷ The position of the bishops in the Anglican Church is not

¹¹ See American Prayer Book of 1928, pp. 607-608.

¹² *Actes de la Conférence . . .*, I, 336.

¹³ *Ibid.*, I, 337.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 334.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 342.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 335.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 332.

correct because the lay element has some influence, which is intolerable, since in Orthodox definition the bishop is "the living image of God on earth."¹⁸ One of the speakers said that the Pope's rejection of Anglican orders was right in itself, but of course his reasons were wrong. What these Orthodox theologians have to blame in Anglican orders is the neglect of certain statements in the canons of the Holy Councils, and a cloud of witnesses is invoked from this region. Queen Elizabeth I violated Canons 4 and 6 of Nicea and Canon 19 of Antioch; in Parker's consecration, Canon 2 of Constantinople, Canon 8 of Ephesus, Canons 3-5 of Sardica, and Canon 12 of Carthage were contravened. The Quinisextum and the Seventh Ecumenical Council are invoked against Anglican usages;¹⁹ and the best that can be offered to repentant Anglicans is a procedure analogous to that by which repentant Iconoclasts were readmitted to the Church by this Seventh Council in 787 A. D.

In the committee debates, the tone was even sharper. Here the advocates of a more conciliatory attitude were overruled by a massive opposition of the Russians and Albanians. One of them treated the committee to the horrifying discovery that the Anglican Church—at least the Low and Broad—is but a tool in the hands of Freemasonry. The Anglo-Catholics received a somewhat milder treatment. A Russian bishop reported that on a visit in England he was "greeted by the Anglo-Catholics so humbly and listened to with such devotion that [he] felt reminded of Moscow where the faithful will kiss not only the hands but the feet of their spiritual fathers."²⁰

Another Russian laid down his conditions for cooperation:

"The Anglican Church must abjure her dogmatic errors, exclude from her ranks bishops like Headlam of Gloucester [who had his personal opinions about the meaning of Apostolic Succession], and the wicked Barnes of Birmingham: she must give up all connections with non-episcopal and heretical churches with whom the Orthodox Church is not in communion. She must accept, in its entirety, the doctrine of the Orthodox Church and give up her symbolical books [i. e. the 39 articles], and replace them by the principles of holy Orthodoxy."²¹

¹⁸ *Actes de la Conférence . . .*, 1, 360.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 338.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 278.

²¹ *Ibid.*, II, 272.

It was in vain that a more moderate man, a Bulgarian, asked: "What do you want to offer to the Anglicans—the sword or the cross?" The final result was a resolution drafted by three Russians, adopted by the final general assembly, signed by the patriarchs and other high dignitaries, and sent to Canterbury. It is entirely in the uncooperative spirit of the debates; a thin sugar-coating of words of Christian and brotherly love does not alter the negative character of the decision which amounts to this:

"The doctrine of the Church of England is so radically different from the Orthodox doctrine, that Anglican orders cannot be acknowledged; if the Anglican Church will modify her doctrine 'dogmatically, canonically and ecclesiastically' and so establish the unity in faith with the East, an Ecumenical Council will be able to grant what the Anglicans wish."

I doubt whether this was the kind of answer Canterbury had expected. Instead of furthering the cause, the decision revised it backwards. The Roumanian recognition of 1936 was nullified by this document, which bears the signature of Patriarch Justinian of Roumania, among the others. It is of course not by chance that the resolution was approved by all the Orthodox Churches behind the Iron Curtain, and by none outside of it.

The Archbishop of Canterbury showed more than Christian patience in his reaction to this rude rebuff. He only indicated his disappointment by postponing his answer for half a year; but then he wrote a letter which tried to keep the door open. He mentioned the possibility of "misunderstandings or more radical causes," the necessity of further "elucidation" and conversations—"not for the purpose of negotiations at this stage, but solely for the purpose of exchanging views and information."²²

Such exchanges of views and information have taken place several times since, and their results seem to indicate the possibility of changes in the attitude of the Russian Church on certain points at least. Her relations to the World Council are undergoing a revision. At the 1956 meeting of the Central Committee of the Council, a conference of World Council and Russian Church representatives was announced for 1957.²³ And in July 1956, a conference of Anglican and Russian theologians was held in Moscow, the Archbishop of York leading the English delegation. The official statement issued by the Church of England

²²*Church Quarterly Review*, Vol. 147, p. 123.

²³*The Living Church*, August 12, 1956, p. 11.

Council on Foreign Relations, reporting on this conference, sounds optimistic within reason. The discussion covered many fields: i. e., the nature of the Church; the place of the laity in the Church; the *filioque*; the sacraments.

"During the discussion," says the statement, "it was found that there was a wide measure of agreement. . . . There was also a number of divergencies due to different emphases and customs. There was not much time during the conference to discuss fully all these points of difference, and much work remains to be done before such discussions could be complete. Nevertheless the conference members are convinced that their meeting has been of very great value in increasing understanding of another's points of view."²⁴

It seems too much to hope that all the divergencies can be overcome. The most difficult problem is of course the nature of the Church. Here the Orthodox claim of infallibility of the Church and the Anglican point of view stand against each other. But there is indeed more hope for the "*in omnibus caritas*" today that at the times of the Moscow Conference.

²⁴*The Living Church*, September 16, 1956, pp. 9-10.

The Need of A Bishop in Virginia in 1756 as Seen by A Layman

A Letter of Graham Frank to Thomas Sherlock,
Bishop of London*

By Robert Leroy Hilldrup†

 RAHAM FRANK was a man of considerable importance in eastern Virginia from about 1750 to 1761. He was a witness in Williamsburg on March 30, 1750, at the signing of the will of William Parks, editor of *The Virginia Gazette*.¹ He was among the prominent men of the colony who promised a specified sum annually for eight years to supplement the premiums that were offered by the Royal Society of Arts in England and the Committee of Arts and Manufacture in the colony for the diversification of agriculture and manufacturing in the colony.² He was the executor of the estate of Thomas Thorpe, and a partner in the store of Frank and Dixon, when he decided to return to England in 1761.³

Frank's decision to leave Virginia was one that he had been contemplating for some time. As early as November 1756, he had written to his cousin, Mrs. Easter Metcalfe, of London, that he wanted to return to his native land and to the great and delightful city of London. "You enjoy so many satisfactions," he declared, "that are deny'd us, in this uncultivated scorching hot country."⁴

In England, Frank became a tobacco merchant. The president and masters of William and Mary College consigned him eight hogsheads of tobacco on May 2, 1767.⁵ The firm of Frank & Bickerton, London, was in the Virginia trade in 1768 and continued in it until 1773, when it was forced to close because it advanced too much credit to Virginia planters.⁶

*The author acknowledges gratefully the grant-in-aid from the Southern Fellowships Fund that he received for study in England, summer of 1955, when he obtained this letter.

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¹*William and Mary College Quarterly*, II (second series), 92-93.

²W. W. Hening, *Statutes-at-Large*, VII, 566-70.

³*The Virginia Gazette*, January 16, 1761, p. 4, c. 2.

⁴Great Britain: P. R. O., H. C. A. 30/258, no. 161.

⁵*William and Mary College Quarterly*, IV (first series), 190-91.

⁶*John Norton & Sons Merchants of London and Virginia* (edited by Frances Norton Mason, Richmond, 1937), pp. 71, 342-43.

Frank's first wife was probably Jane, a daughter of William Routh, of Kislington, in Yorkshire. On her passage to Virginia, she died at sea, April 26, 1753, and was interred May 28, aged twenty-eight years.⁷ Frank's second wife was Ann Staige, daughter of the Rev. Theodosius Staige, an Anglican clergyman who was rector of Charles Parish, York County, Virginia, at the time of his death, December 26, 1747. She married Frank in the fall of 1756. A son, Thomas Thorpe Frank, was born to her on November 20, 1758.⁸ According to the inscription on her tomb in Bruton Parish Church Yard, she died on the Feast of St. Andrew, 1759.⁹

Ann Butler, who opposed Frank's second marriage, wrote a prejudiced account of the wedding to Mrs. John Routh, who was in England. She described Ann Staige as being dressed for her wedding in a white calico night gown, and as a skinny, ugly servant girl of a pale complexion, who kept her eyes on the ground. She added that now Frank was married he might hope to be asked to partake of a good dinner, occasionally, with the housekeeper and nurses in the household of his bride's master.¹⁰

Frank wrote a letter to his mother, Mrs. Ellen Frank, Yorkshire, England, to counteract the evil influence of Ann Butler's letter. He stated that his wife was the daughter of a clergyman who by misfortune left his family destitute of a subsistence when he died, but that by the goodness of some gentlemen in Virginia they were all brought up in a very genteel manner. As for his wife, she behaved so well in William Nelson's family, which had taken her in, that she sat at his table and in every respect lived as he did, the same as though she had been his child; and when they were married, only the society folk of Yorktown were invited. Moreover, Nelson had given her a bill of exchange of 200 pounds sterling as a wedding present. They were now living next door to the Nelsons, and the two families "seem as one."

It was true, he admitted, that when his wife lived at the Nelsons' place, she had served for Mrs. Nelson, and had had the superintendance of the children, and, perhaps, had carried some keys; but that was nothing more than Nelson's own daughter, if he had had one, might

⁷Bishop Meade, *Old Churches, Ministers, and Families of Virginia* (Philadelphia, 1861), I, 215.

⁸Bruton & Middleton Parishes, James City County, Virginia, Parish Register, 1662-1797, p. 16.

⁹Landon C. Bell, *Charles Parish York County, Virginia, History and Registers* (Richmond, 1932), 26-28.

¹⁰Ann Butler to Mrs. John Routh, November 13, 1756, Great Britain: P. R. O., H. C. A., 30/258.

have done, because white servants were scarce in Virginia and Negroes were not fit to have the care of anything.¹¹

Even in Frank's defensive letter it is evident that the clergyman's family was destitute, and that the upper class was inclined to look down upon them as social inferiors. When the Rev. Theodosius Staige died, his estate was valued at 221/ 19/ 3, of which 95/ 0/ 0. was for four slaves. The balance consisted of household articles and personal effects.¹² It seems that five children survived him and that the eldest was only eighteen years old.

Perhaps Staige might have left a larger estate had he been less inclined to disagree with his vestries. He had hardly become established in his work as a young clergyman in St. George's Parish, Spotsylvania County, Virginia, before he applied to the vestry for a year's leave of absence with pay so he could return to England. His request was denied.¹³ On November 2, 1736, the Governor and Council heard a petition and complaint of a majority of the vestry and inhabitants of Charles Parish against Staige for not doing his duty in administering the sacrament of baptism and other misdemeanors. In 1743, he was again in trouble with his vestry, this time because he had refused to christen bastard children and opposed the singing of the new version of Psalms.¹⁴

Several influences may have caused Frank to write his letter to Thomas Sherlock (1678-1761), Bishop of London (1748-1761)^{14-a} He must have had a natural sympathy for the orphaned family of his wife. Moreover, he undoubtedly knew the clergy of Virginia were anxious about the economic security of their families, since as recently as 1754 their Church convention had taken the necessary steps to create the Fund for the Relief of Widows and Orphans of Deceased Clergymen.¹⁵ Besides, the differences that occurred between Staige and his vestries indicated that the discipline of a resident suffragan bishop was needed. And, finally, Frank was a pious man who loved his Church and read religious books.

¹¹Graham Frank to Mrs. Ellen Frank, November 10, 1756, Great Britain: P. R. O., H. C. A., 30/258.

¹²York County Wills and Inventories No. 20 (1746 to 1759), pp. 80-82.

¹³Carrol H. Quenzel, *The History and Background of St. George's Episcopal Church, Fredericksburg, Virginia* (Richmond, 1951), 5.

¹⁴Bell, *op. cit.*, 26-28.

^{14-a}The definitive biography is by Edward Carpenter, *Thomas Sherlock, 1678-1761* (London, S.P.C.K., 1936), pp. 335.

¹⁵George Maclareen Brydon, *Virginia's Mother Church and the Political Conditions Under Which it Grew*, II (Philadelphia, 1952), 276.

In the letter, Frank mentioned having read "your Lordship's Works, particularly your late volumns of incomparable Discourses." The "late volumns" was a reference to Sherlock's *Several Discourses Preached at the Temple Church*, which had first appeared in 1754 and had entered their third edition by 1755.

In advocating the appointment of a suffragan bishop, Frank took a position hardly unlike the one taken by Sherlock himself, who presented to the king an unpublished manuscript entitled "Considerations," in which he set forth his reasons for desiring the establishment of an American bishop.¹⁶ Later, Sherlock cooperated with John Camm, agent of the clergy from Virginia, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, by a letter to the Board of Trade, June 14, 1759, in which he fully sustained the memorial for an American bishop and denounced the Two Penny Act as unjust to the clergy, inconsistent with the authority of the crown, and tending to draw the people of the colonies from their allegiance.¹⁷

It is interesting to compare Frank's views on the need for the episcopate and confirmation in colonial Virginia with those of the Rev. Hugh Jones twenty-six years earlier, as expressed in *The Present State of Virginia* [in 1725]:

"As for the establishment of episcopacy in Virginia, it would be an excellent service, if caution was taken not to transplant with it the corrupt abuses of spiritual courts, which the people dread almost as much as an inquisition; but these their fears would soon be dissipated, when by blessed experience they might feel the happy influence of that holy order among them, free from the terrible notions that misrepresentations of regular church government have made them conceive.

"I have often heard that there have been intentions of this kind; and that the main obstacle was the difficulty of raising a salary sufficient to support the dignity, and recompense the labours of a bishop. But this impediment may (I presume) with good contrivance be easily removed; for I don't at all question that the superior clergy and collegians in the universities would refuse to contribute half a crown a year for this glorious undertaking, or that the inferiors would join their shillings. This might be collected into the treasury gratis, by the officers of the taxes, and might be taken off in a few years, when upon tryal the usefulness of a bishop upon the continent of North America was confirmed by experience; for then a maintenance might be contrived by other means

¹⁶Arthur Lyon Cross, *The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies* (Cambridge, Mass., 1924), 113-122.

¹⁷H. J. Eckenrode, "The Leadership of Virginia in the War of the Revolution," *William and Mary College Quarterly*, XIX(first series), 17.

very easily, there being spare land enough to be appropriated for a barony. . . ."¹⁸

Concerning the need of confirmation in 1725, Jones had written:

"For want of confirmation persons are admitted to the Holy Sacrament with mean and blind knowledge, and poor notion of the divine mysteries of the Supper of the Lord: which is in abuse of a thing so sacred." . . . "Now to remedy all these grievances and deficiencies, with all evils of the like kind, there is an absolute necessity for a person whose office upon this occasion should be somewhat uncommon, till a bishop be established in these parts; who might pave out a way for the introduction of mitres into the English America, so greatly wanting there. This person should have instructions and power for discharging such parts of the office, of a bishop, of a dean, and of an arch-deacon, as necessity requires, and the nature of those sacred functions will permit; and from a medium of these three functions he might be called Dean of Virginia. . . .

"His office and duty should be . . . To examine and confirm all persons before they be admitted to the Lord's Supper, which confirmation (or rather approbation) might be done without imposition of hands in a peculiar form, proper for the circumstances of this occasion; and the ministers should admit none to the sacrament without his certificate of this their confirmation."¹⁹

Frank did not lose his interest in the religious affairs of Virginia after he returned to England. He maintained a correspondence with Rev. Samuel Sheild, who was suspected of holding Methodist views, and with others in York County and Williamsburg. He contributed five guineas toward defraying the expenses of the Rev. James Madison's trip from Virginia to London, after the Revolutionary War, for consecration as bishop on September 19, 1790, and he was much pleased with the spirit and plans of Bishop Madison, whom he saw after Madison had arrived in London.²⁰ In Madison, Virginia had at last a resident bishop, but under political circumstances that Frank had not envisioned when he wrote his letter of November 11, 1756.

¹⁸*The Present State of Virginia*, by Hugh Jones. Edited with Introduction and Notes by Richard L. Morton. Published for the Virginia Historical Society by the University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1956. Pp. 295. The above excerpts are from Morton's edition, p. 127; of the original edition, p. 110.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, Morton's ed., p. 119; original, p. 97.

²⁰Bishop Meade, *op. cit.*, I, 203, II, 268. The Rev. Mr. Sheild was an active leader in presenting a petition from the clergy to the General Assembly in June, 1784, for the incorporation of the Episcopal Church in Virginia. Brydon, *op. cit.*, II, 150, 440, 591-93.

LETTER OF GRAHAM FRANK TO THOMAS SHERLOCK, LORD
BISHOP OF LONDON, FROM VIRGINIA, NOVEMBER 11, 1756²¹

Virginia Novr. 11th. 1756.

My Lord

You will be greatly surprized at an Address from so obscure a Person as I am, in so distant a part of the World; but the great satisfaction & real Benefit I have received by reading your Lordship's Works, particularly your late volumns of incomparable Discourses, constrain me to offer violence to the natural Modesty & Bashfullness of our nature, when we approach great Personages, & give you the Pleasure of knowing that your Labours hath been of the greatest Advantage to One, even in this remote part of the Earth, tho' the meanest of the servants of that God & saviour you have so long & faithfully served: & may He for the Good of his Church, preserve your Life, in the highest Felicity, to the latest Period that humanity can possibly reach: & when, for our sins, & your unspeakable Advantage, he is pleased to deprive us of you, may that Church you have, on so many Occasions approved your self a faithful Pastor, never want such a Leader to the End of Time.

Now that I have presumed to approach your Lordship's Presence, permit me to say something of the state of the Church in this Colony. When your Lordship was first prefer'd to the See of London, I have been told, that, like a true primitive Bishop, you offer'd to relinquish all considerations of Power or Interest, that there might be one or more sent to the Colonies; but that your Endeavours were frustrated by Petitions from the northern Provinces, grounded on an unreasonable Notion of the Tyranny of a spiritual Court. But my Lord, since that full extent of Power wch. your Order is invested wth. in England is so unacceptable to the People here; can't it be that a Person may be sent in the Characture of what was formerly call'd a suffragan Bishop, & impower'd to take cognizance of only matters that are purely spiritual? suppose, for Instance, that you Lordship's worthy Commissary here had the Power, added to what he now enjoys, of Confirmation & Ordination: sure I am that it would be of vast service to Religion; as many well disposed men, in this, & the neighbouring Colonies, would enter into Orders but for the Danger & Expence of a Voiage. And as to the Order of Confirmation, setting aside the extraordinary Degree of Grace wch. Christ may, & doth, bestow on those who religiously (*sic*) comply wth. an Institution of his own appointment, if the clergy were apprehensive of having their Youth examin'd by their Bishop, they wou'd, perhaps, be a little more assiduous in instilling into their Minds a more competent Knowledge of that excellent Form of sound Words the Church Catechism. And particularly, when it may be done wth. Prudence & Discretion, to let them into the nature & necessity of Church Communion; & the reallity

²¹Great Britain: Public Record Office, H.C.A. 30—258-161.

of a Clergyman's Authority from Christ himself: An Ignorance or Inattention to which, hath been the Occasion of so many schisms. And in my acquaintance with some, in this Country, who are otherwise very pious men, I have observed that they have no higher a Notion of a Clergyman's Commission & Power, than as a Constable, or other petty Officer in civil Life. & men of such unfixed Principals can't but be lyable to be led away by the Art of every Sectarist.

Were I not well convinced of your Lordships Goodness, & that you are indued wth. that Xtian spirit of bearing with anothers Weakness, I should not presume to trouble your Lordship wth. my poor Thought on those high subjects. But as I have ventured thus far, I can't forbear mentioning another Reason why we ought to have some Person invested wth. more Power than the Commissary now has: & that chiefly respects the clergy. Our Parishes are Govern'd by the minister & twelve men; & as we are thinly inhabitted, & few of us have made Ecclesiastical Affairs our study, tis no wonder if many are admitted Vestry-men who know very little of what belongs to the office; & especially that of a Church-warden; wch. occasions many contests wth. the minister & as he is only allow'd one vote, he is generally over ruled in some very important Points. And although the Com. Prayer & Canons of the Church are establisht & made a Part of the Laws of this Country, yet few think it their Business to consult either; but whatever suits their capricious Humour, that they will do. without regard to Laws & Rules to the contrary. And a Clergyman who makes a conscience of complying wth. the Rubric, in many Instances, is the least esteem'd; let his conduct be ever so regular, or Abilities to preach ever so great. And indeed the supream Legislative Power is not so careful in enacting Laws, respecting these matters, as might be wisht. I need not tell your Lordship that your Clergy here are intitled to 1600 lb [16,000] of Tobacco for their yearly salary; but notwithstanding that, on an apprehension of a short crop, this last year, by an Act of Assembly, they gave the People leive to pay money instead of Tobo.: & that at a considerably lower Price than it was likely to bear. & this after the Tobo. was really due.

I don't know the Extent of their Power to enact, & put in force, temporary Laws; but it doth not seem reasonable to me, that they shou'd be enabled to put in immediate force, such Laws as are, in Effect, opposite to others wch. has the Roial Assent. If that was the case, Establishments wou'd signify nothing because, were the clergy at any Time to become unpopular, the Assembly might dock their sallary from year to year; & they have no remedy, as the matter woud be settled before his majesty's Pleasure cou'd be known. And why a poor clergyman must be deprived of his just Rights, for fear a great man shou'd be over-burthen'd wth. Taxes (for it cheifly affects them as our Estates consist of a number of slaves, & the Publick-money is raised by a pole Tax) can't be imagin'd, unless he was obliged to make it up to him in plentiful Times, as would be the case, did the Planter, as in England, pay a proportionate Part of the Produce of the Earth: & then what he wanted one year, wou'd be made up to him the next.

The same Law that a few years ago augmented the clergy's salary, gave the vestry twelve months Time, instead of six wch. they had before, to chuse their minister; wch. is another Hardship, both on them, & the People: For, at this Time a Parish because its vestry happens to be divided hath been nine months without a settled minister. And all the while they are raising such Fuels & Animosities as will hardly ever be composed, whilst the present Race of People lives.

It is customary wth. the Gentlemen here to send to Scotland for Tutors to their Children, for the sake of cheapness: & notwithstanding they come hither wth. as violent Prejudices against the Church, as they can well have agst. that of Rome yet seeing the decent Provision that's made for the clergy here, they soon reconcile themselves to the Thought of becoming ministers in it: & by some means or other obtain recommendatory Letters to your Lordship; but notwithstanding wch. I have understood that you have rejected some of them. And altho', as I apprehend, your Lordship is the proper Person to ordain ministers to America, yet I find they get ordination from some other Bishop, finding them to be masters of a little Greek & Latin. But, with submission to his Lordship, who ever he is, I think that but a small Part of the Qualifications necessary in a Parish Priest. If he is a moral & pious man, wth. a good Degree of well temper'd Zeal, wch. he can be no Judge of & can read the Bible well, wth. a tolerable skill in Divinity, wch. I fancy wth. diligence may be obtain'd without mch. of either of those Languages, & a Knowledge of the Constitution of the Church, he will make a greater Figure, & be of more service in this part of the world, where his abilities in the antient authors, in Divinity especially, will seldom be call'd in question. A good man wou'd rather have an immoral man for a minister than none at all; but I am too mch. afraid that such a Person will do more harm, among the loose part of mankind, than good, so that scarce as they are in some of the Colonies, I believe they had better continue so, than Religion shou'd be disgraced by such men.

Thus have I presumed to lay before your Lordship a short sketch of the state of the Church in this Colony; altho' you have it from so many better Hands, & it is so very foreign to my Province: But if the presence of a Bishop in his Diocese, be in the least necessary for the Good of the Church over wch. he presides, your Lordships steady Piety & Benevolence will not fail to promote so good a work, & excuse the irregular Zeal of

My Lord

Yr. Lordships most obedt.
son & most devoted hble servt.
GRAHAM FRANK.

Bibliographical Materials on the Episcopal Church*

By Niels H. Sonne†



THE Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America lacks a detailed and exhaustive bibliography of its literature, and no plans for the production of such a work are known to this writer. The Church, however, is well provided with bibliographies of a general and popular nature, planned for the use of laymen or beginning students. The Church's Department of Christian Education is sponsoring a six-volume series entitled *The Church's Teaching*, the purpose of which is to present the Episcopal Church and its position in a popular manner. Four of the volumes are of special value to those who wish to understand the Church and its history. They are: P. M. Dawley, *Chapters in Church History*; J. A. Pike and W. N. Pittenger, *The Faith of the Church*; M. H. Shepherd, Jr., *The Worship of the Church*; and P. M. Dawley, *The Episcopal Church and Its Work*. All are published by the Seabury Press in Greenwich, Connecticut, and are now in print. Appended to each of these books are competently annotated bibliographies of works selected for their usefulness to the clergy, church-school teachers, and interested laymen. The texts of the books in this series, supplemented with readings in the suggested literature, constitute the best introduction to the history, thought, worship, and present situation of the Episcopal Church.

A more formal bibliography of the history of the Episcopal Church is R. S. Bosher's "The Episcopal Church and American Christianity, a bibliography" in *The Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, Vol. XIX (1950). This bibliography was originally designed for use in the first course in American Church history at the General Theological Seminary, New York City. It is a classified list of his-

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†NIELS H. SONNE, B.D., Ph. D., is Librarian of the General Theological Seminary, Chelsea Square, New York City. This article is the third of a series dealing with bibliographical resources for study of the history of the major denominations. All have appeared in *Religion in Life*, a quarterly published by the Abingdon Press, New York and Nashville.

tories and studies arranged around the topics of lectures which, in turn, form a chronological conspectus of the progress of Anglicanism in the American colonies and in the United States. Some attention is paid to the religious environment of the Episcopal Church. Although not annotated, Dr. Bosher's work is the most useful bibliography for the reader who is interested strictly in the history of the Church. The bibliography appended to W. M. Manross' *A History of the American Episcopal Church* (second edition, revised and enlarged, New York, 1950) is a classified list of printed sources rather than of histories and studies, and is of chief value for the reader who wishes to get his story from the original actors and who has access to their works. Another scholarly bibliography, alphabetical in arrangement and informatively annotated, is found in E. C. Chorley's Hale lectures for 1946, *Men and Movements in the American Episcopal Church* (New York, 1946). J. T. Addison's *The Episcopal Church in the United States, 1789-1931* (New York, 1951) is a popular history of the Episcopal Church, and its bibliography is merely a brief list of books cited.

The two bibliographical monographs in Volume Two of Bishop W. S. Perry's *The History of the American Episcopal Church, 1587-1883* (Boston, 1885), the classic nineteenth-century history of the Church, are well worth noting. Monograph Number Nine, "The Literary Churchmen of the Ante-revolutionary Period" by Henry Coppée, provides a discursive treatment of such pre-Revolutionary writers as were associated with the colonial Church. Monograph Number Ten, "Church Literature since the Revolution" by J. H. Ward, is a bibliographical essay on Church writers and their publications in the first century of the Episcopal Church. It is far more concerned with the literature of Church affairs than Coppée's essay, and is of great value for its appraisals of the men and works it discusses. Ward attempts to put his writers and their publications in proper party relationships. His essay is the best bibliographical starting point for research in the century it covers; but its arrangement is poor for reference purposes, and its inadequate bibliographical detail necessitates supplementary use of other bibliographies.

The Episcopal Church has a large literature of diocesan and parish history. Quality varies widely from well conceived and completely executed historical writings to mere antiquarian compilations. Perhaps the ablest of the older diocesan histories is E. E. Beardsley's *The History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut*, 2 volumes (Boston, 1866-68 and later editions), with a brief bibliography in Volume One.

The Centennial History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of New York, 1785-1885, edited by J. G. Wilson (New York, 1886) contains an instructive bibliographical essay, "Church literature of the century," written by J. A. Spencer, in which the writings of the principal figures in the history of the Diocese of New York are discussed. The best modern regional bibliography covering the colonial history of the present Dioceses of Newark and New Jersey is that prepared by N. R. Burr for his *Anglican Church in New Jersey* (Philadelphia, 1954). In addition to an excellent classified general bibliography, Burr provides a special bibliography of "Published Works of the New Jersey Colonial Clergy," with locations of extant copies of the works of the seventeen writers he considers. The Diocese of Kentucky has been the subject of W. R. Insko's "A short bibliography of the history of the Episcopal Church in Kentucky" in the *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*, 53 (1955).

Useful diocesan bibliographies are also found in G. E. DeMille's *A History of the Diocese of Albany, 1705-1923* (Philadelphia, 1946); G. M. Brydon's *Virginia's Mother Church*, Volume 1, 1607-1727 (Richmond, 1947) and Volume 2, 1727-1923 (Philadelphia, 1952); G. F. Smythe's *History of the Diocese of Ohio Until . . . 1918* (Cleveland, 1931), and other diocesan histories. DuBose Murphy's *A Short History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Texas* (Dallas, 1935) contains a brief bibliography of the Church in the state of Texas. N. W. Rightmyer provides a good annotated bibliography in his *Anglican Church in Delaware* (Philadelphia, 1947). An interesting special feature of this work is the reprint of "A catalogue of the missionaries' library" from *A Collection of Papers, Printed by Order of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts* (London, 1788).

Another important source for diocesan history and bibliography is the inventory of church archives produced by the WPA Historical Records Survey. Volumes were prepared for the following dioceses of the Episcopal Church: Alabama, Connecticut, Delaware, Washington (D. C.), Maryland, Michigan, Northern Michigan, Western Michigan, Mississippi, Nevada, Newark and New Jersey (in one volume), New Hampshire, New York (Manhattan, the Bronx, and Richmond only), Long Island (Queens and Brooklyn only), Western New York, Rochester, West Virginia, and Fond du Lac (in Wisconsin). All were published between 1938 and 1942. The text follows a consistent pattern in providing a general history of the diocese under consideration and brief histories of the individual parishes, arranged and numbered in chronological order of foundation. The bibliographical fea-

tures include descriptions and locations of local archives and bibliographies of the sources upon which the text of the volume as a whole rests.

Local or parish histories range from the monumental *A History of the Parish of Trinity Church in the City of New York*, four volumes edited by Morgan Dix, with a fifth volume by L. C. Lewis (New York, 1898-1906, 1950), to the innumerable minor historical sketches prepared for various purposes and occasions by individual churches. Bibliographies of parish histories are not numerous and are usually found in diocesan histories and in the Historical Records Survey volumes. The better parish histories contain bibliographies, and in a work such as Dix's *Trinity Church*, they reach a high level of excellence. In an effort to improve the writing of parish histories, the Church Historical Society has published an instructive pamphlet on principles and methods by the experienced parish historian, N. R. Burr, *Adventures in Parish History* (Philadelphia, 1947).

A few topical histories contain bibliographies worthy of special attention. C. H. Brewer presents a classified list of the works from which he garnered his materials in his *A History of Religious Education in the Episcopal Church to 1835* (New Haven, 1924). In presenting the bibliography of his *The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies* (New York, 1902), A. L. Cross wrote:

"This bibliography aims to include all books, manuscripts, pamphlets, newspapers, periodicals, broadsides, official records, or other collections of material which contain important information regarding the relations between the Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies."

Cross' book remains, after half a century, the standard work on this topic. F. J. Klingberg, whose writings are described by Dr. Rightmyer as "exceptionally well documented," provides "A Select Bibliography" in his *Anglican Humanitarianism in Colonial New York* (Philadelphia, 1940). This bibliography is useful in opening the subject of the Church in relation to slavery and to the American Indians in the Colonial period.

Biographical Works

The best biographical work for the more important American Episcopalians is the *Dictionary of American Biography*, 21 volumes

(New York, 1928-1937). In this work, 262 Episcopal clergymen, including 92 bishops, are given good biographical treatment, with appended bibliographies. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, six volumes (New York, 1894), contains 488 biographies of Episcopal clergymen, including 159 bishops. Some bibliographical information is included in these articles. W. H. Stone in his "List of Episcopal Clergymen in 'Appletons' Cyclopaedia of American Biography" and in the 'Dictionary of American Biography,'" *The Historical Magazine*, XXIII (1945), finds that the DAB and Appletons' overlap to include together biographies of 548 clergymen, of whom 173 were bishops. English clergymen are treated in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1885-1901), which includes some men of importance in American Church history, as, for example, Thomas Bray, George Berkeley, and George Keith. For the older clergy, Volume 5 of William B. Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit* (New York, 1869) is devoted to the Episcopal clergy and includes 336 biographies. In compiling this work, Sprague continued his usual technique of procuring materials from contemporaries and acquaintances of the subjects. He discusses the writings of his subjects at some length.

The bishops of the Episcopal Church have been the topics of a biographical work by Bishop W. S. Perry, *The Bishops of the American Church, Past and Present, Sketches Biographical and Bibliographical* (New York, 1897). Each of the 184 sketches is accompanied by a note entitled "Works." While often helpful and suggestive, these notes lack bibliographical precision. Worthy of attention also is C. R. Barnes' biographical work, *The General Convention, Offices and Officers, 1785-1950* (Philadelphia, 1951) which includes as Appendix I, "Book List, Principal Writings of the Persons Mentioned in this Study," and Appendix II, "Bibliography." Bibliographical material is also found in the obituary notices sometimes printed in diocesan journals and in the lives which are a normal feature of diocesan and parish histories.

Outline biographical information for most Episcopal clergymen of this century can best be found in the *Clerical Directory* (formerly *Stowe's Clerical Directory*) which has appeared nineteen times in the past fifty-nine years. The current volume, published in 1956, provides brief statements of the ecclesiastical careers of the more than 8,000 clergymen of the Church, including in addition birth, parentage, special activities, and lists of publications. These listings are bibliographically incomplete but have the positive value of providing the fullest statement of publications which the authors themselves deem worthy of notice.

A new feature of the 1953 volume was the printing of group pictures of the clergy of each diocese (with a few exceptions), usually taken at the annual conventions. Each clergyman is identified. The more prominent Episcopal clergymen appear also in *Who's Who in America*, and, after death, in *Who Was Who in America*.

Source Materials

The scholarly Episcopalian, F. L. Hawks and W. S. Perry, made efforts in the middle nineteenth century to place in print important unpublished materials relating to the Church, which might otherwise be lost. Their joint efforts had a small but valuable yield. With Hawks as editor, the Protestant Episcopal Historical Society brought forth Volume One of its *Collections* in 1851. This is of special value for its material on George Keith and John Talbot, early eighteenth-century missionaries. In 1863-64, Hawks and Perry brought out their *Documentary History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. Containing numerous hitherto unpublished documents concerning the Church in Connecticut* (New York, 1863-64). Later, Perry was able to publish five folio volumes of *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church* (Hartford, 1870-78), covering Virginia, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Maryland, and Delaware. These volumes were based on transcripts made in England under F. C. Hawks' direction.

A major printed source for the colonial Church is the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel's *Abstract of Proceedings*, 1704-1783. The Library of Congress has also been active in gathering photo-reproductions of materials in English libraries relevant to the Church of England in colonial America. This work is described in N. R. Burr's *Anglican Church in New Jersey* (p. 658). Another notable project for the publication of Episcopal source materials is the Virginia State Library's series of volumes reproducing the pre-Revolutionary vestry books and registers of various parishes in Virginia. Mention should also be made of *Archives of the General Convention* edited by order of the Commission on Archives, by Arthur Lowndes, six volumes (New York, 1911-12). In spite of the inclusive title, this set contains only the correspondence of Bishop J. H. Hobart, from 1757 to 1811. Each volume has a special bibliography and there is a list of the writings of Bishop Hobart.

Periodicals of the Episcopal Church

The chief popular periodicals of the Episcopal Church are *The Living Church* (founded 1878); *The Churchman* (founded 1831); *Forth* (founded as *The Spirit of Missions* in 1836); *The Witness* (founded 1916); and *The Episcopal Church News* (founded as *The Southern Churchman* in 1835). For studies of Episcopal history and affairs, with many bibliographies, pre-eminence must be given to *The Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, which commenced publication in 1932. Diocesan periodicals being published at the present time are listed in *The Episcopal Church Annual*. A long list of Episcopal magazines represented by files in the General Theological Seminary Library is to be found in Charles Mampoteng's "The Library and American Church History" in *The Historical Magazine*, V (1936). C. P. Morehouse, for nineteen years editor of *The Living Church*, has discussed the early Episcopal press at length in his "Origins of the Episcopal Church Press from Colonial Days to 1840" in *The Historical Magazine*, XI (1942). Chapters are devoted to the founding and early years of *The Churchman*, *The Southern Churchman*, and *The Spirit of Missions*, with brief surveys of their history from 1840 to 1942. The article is equipped with a bibliography.

Official Publications

The General Convention of the Episcopal Church meets triennially. Its proceedings, documented with extensive reports, are published as the *Journal of The General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America* after each convention. The proceedings of the early conventions have been republished three times, in 1817, 1861, and 1874. The clergy and laity of the individual dioceses and of the missionary districts meet annually in convention, and in almost all cases their proceedings are also published. The constitution and canons of the Protestant Episcopal Church are subject to revision at each General Convention, and the revised constitution is published both separately and as part of the *Journal* after each convention. In 1924, E. A. White published an annotated edition of the Constitutions and Canons. This has been revised recently by J. A. Dykman, and the new edition was published by the Seabury Press in 1954. In this work, the successive forms of each canon and additions to the canons are presented, with necessary commentary. The American Episcopal Church is a federation of individual dioceses. Each of

these dioceses has its own canons and constitution, subject to change from time to time. The dioceses publish their constitutions and canons, and their journals contain all alterations and amendments which have

The Book of Common Prayer

No informed study of the Episcopal Church is possible without attention to its worship. On the popular level, the most instructive study is M. H. Shepherd's *The Worship of the Church* (Greenwich, 1952) in the Church's Teaching Series. A more detailed work is E. L. Parsons and B. H. Jones, *The American Prayer Book* (New York, 1937). Both of these books contain excellent bibliographies. The form of presentation and the annotations make Shepherd's work of special use to the beginner. Readers seeking a list of the important editions of the *Book of Common Prayer*, with explanatory annotations, will find this in *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Book of Common Prayer and related material in the collection of James R. Page* (Los Angeles, 1955).

Yearbooks

The standard yearbook of the Episcopal Church is *The Episcopal Church Annual*, for many years edited by L. H. and C. P. Morehouse. This first appeared in 1892 as the *Living Church Annual*. In 1922 it absorbed the *Churchman's Year Book and American Church Annual*, which had been founded in 1830 as *The Churchman's Almanac* and had appeared under three other similar names. In 1909, it absorbed *Whittaker's Churchman's Almanac*, founded in 1854. The present name, *The Episcopal Church Annual*, was adopted in 1953. The volume presents the usual yearbook type of information, including biographies of newly consecrated bishops, lists of the episcopal succession in America, and the lists of the living American clergy, complete as reported. Also listed are parishes, with addresses and number of communicants, under diocese. A list of church periodicals, general and diocesan, is a useful bibliographical feature. Mr. Morehouse has published an instructive article on this type of publication, "Almanacs and Year Books of the Episcopal Church" in *The Historical Magazine*, X (1941).

Doctoral Theses

Previous articles in this series have discussed doctoral dissertations in their fields. The American Episcopal Church has not been the subject of many such theses. Of the relevant theses listed in *Doctoral Dis-*

sertations Accepted by American Universities, 1934 to date, six seem to be concerned primarily with historical subjects. They are R. L. Arends, *Early American Methodism and the Church of England* (Yale, 1948); C. N. Brickley, *The Episcopal Church in Protestant America, 1800-1860* (Clark, 1950); W. A. Bultmann, *The Society For the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts and the Foreign Settler in the American Colonies* (California 1952); F. D. Gifford, *The Church of England in Colonial Westchester; a Study of the Work of the S.P.G. Missionaries in the Parishes of West Chester, Rye and New Rochelle* (New York University, 1942); W. W. Manross, *The Episcopal Church in the United States, 1800-1840* (Columbia, 1939), published by the Columbia University Press in 1938; and L. U. Ridout, *Foundation of the Episcopal Church in the Diocese of California, 1849-1893* (Southern California, 1953).

Other doctoral theses, arranged alphabetically by author, are: L. A. Belford, *Marriage and Canon Law in the Protestant Episcopal Church* (U.S.A.) (Columbia, 1933), published by University Microfilms; H. L. King, Jr., *The Doctrine of Conscience in Contemporary Anglo-Catholic Theology* (Columbia, 1951), published by University Microfilms; C. O. Loveland, *The Problem of Achieving Agreement on the Form of Government of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, 1780-1789* (Duke, 1953), which was published in April, 1956, as *The Critical Years: the Reconstitution of the Anglican Church in the United States of America, 1780-1789*, by the Seabury Press in Greenwich, Conn.; J. H. Scambler, *The Anglican Synthesis (Catholic and Evangelical)* Northern Baptist, 1953; S. A. Temple, *The Common Sense Theology of Bishop White: Selected Essays from the Writings of William White, 1748-1836 . . . with an Introductory Survey of his Theological Position* (Columbia, 1946), published by the King's Crown Press in 1946; E. G. Waring, Jr., *Philosophical Aspects of Recent Anglo-Catholic Thought* (Chicago, 1950); and M. M. Weston, *Social Policy of the Episcopal Church in the Twentieth Century* (Columbia, 1954), published by University Microfilms.

Locations of Collections

Bibliographical discussions stress printed listings of books. There is also need for discussions of the locations of major collections. In the Episcopal Church, the Church Historical Society is the official instru-

ment of the General Convention for the preservation of historical records. Long located at the (Episcopal) Divinity School in Philadelphia, the library of this organization has now moved to the Episcopal Theological Seminary of the Southwest, in Austin, Texas. The resources of this library were described by the then librarian, Dr. W. W. Mansross, in the June, 1955, issue of *The Historical Magazine*. Dr. W. H. Stowe of New Brunswick, N. J., is president of the Church Historical Society, as well as Historiographer of the Church, editor of *The Historical Magazine* and of *The Historiographer*. The Historical Society publishes a series of *Publications* in which several of the works cited in this article have appeared. Individual dioceses also often designate a historiographer. Some diocesan historiographers are quite active in this capacity, as, for example, K. W. Cameron in Connecticut and G. M. Brydon in Virginia.

Other major libraries for the study of the Episcopal Church are the General Theological Seminary Library in New York City, the Trinity College Library in Hartford, Conn., and the Massachusetts Diocesan Library in Boston. The historical resources in manuscripts and periodicals of the Seminary Library are described by Charles Mampoteng in his "The Library and American Church History" in *The Historical Magazine* for September, 1936. Important additions, including the H. C. Robbins collection of bishops' autographs and most of Bishop Samuel Seabury's papers, have been made since 1936. The Massachusetts Diocesan Library's collection of over 20,000 manuscripts is described in detail in the Historical Records Survey's *A Description of the Manuscript Collections in the Massachusetts Diocesan Library* (Boston, 1939). Some state libraries, such as that in Connecticut, have systematically collected records of Episcopal Churches, either in originals or photocopies, for permanent preservation. The student should also recall that much important early Episcopal material is included in the great public and university libraries under the heading "Americana."

Book Reviews

I. American Church History and Biography

Maryland's Established Church. By Nelson Waite Rightmyer. Church Historical Society, Publication No. 45, Austin, Texas. Pp. 239. \$5.00.

Students of American Church history know by this time that anything written by Dr. Rightmyer is bound to be a sound piece of scholarly writing. This book is no exception. In it, Dr. Rightmyer traces the history of the Anglican Church in Maryland from its beginning in 1632 until its incorporation into the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America in 1784. The book is thoroughly documented, and includes two valuable appendices, one giving a summary review of the establishment and incumbents of every Maryland colonial parish, and the second, biographical sketches of all the Anglican clergy in colonial Maryland.

It has somehow become a commonplace of American Church history that the Anglican clergy in the South were a disreputable lot. Dr. Rightmyer does much to dispel this legend. It is to be regretted that he has very little to say about the famous Maryland Convention of 1780, at which the name "Protestant Episcopal" was first formally adopted. But perhaps there was not much he could say, since it is questionable whether this convention ever met.

One hopes that this will eventually be followed by a second, and equally good volume, recounting the story of the Diocese of Maryland through the nineteenth century.

GEORGE E. DEMILLE.

*Diocesan House,
Albany, New York.*



The Carolina Chronicle of Dr. Francis Le Jau, 1706-1717. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by Frank J. Klingberg. University of California Press. Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1956. Pp. 220.

For the third time, Dr. Klingberg has made a very valuable contribution to the early colonial history of South Carolina. The first was *An Appraisal of the Negro in Colonial South Carolina* (Washington, D. C., 1941); then followed *Carolina Chronicle, The Papers of Commissary Gideon Johnston, 1707-16* (1946). It is notable that this third contribution, consisting of the letters and reports of Dr. Le Jau, 1706-1717, covers nearly exactly the same period as the *Papers of Com-*

missary Johnston, 1707-16. Thus is supplied a picture of the religious, social, and political situation in the province of Carolina, especially valuable from the separate standpoints of two devoted churchmen, and each of them of unusual ability.

As we are told in the very useful introduction by Dr. Klingberg to these letters, Dr. Le Jau spent the first twenty years of his life in the region of La Rochelle in France, where he absorbed the culture of the age of Louis XIV. After the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, he was among the quarter-million French Huguenots who "fled from the fury of religious persecution." As was the case with so many of these refugees, he found a hospitable home in England and Ireland for over fifteen years, being graduated from Trinity College, Dublin, with the degrees of M. A. and B. D. Later, in 1700, the degree of D. D. was conferred upon him, and he was honored by being made a canon of St. Paul's Cathedral. Deciding to leave England for his health, Bishop Compton of London, having nominal charge of the Anglican Church in the colonies, sent him to St. Christopher's Island in the West Indies where for eighteen months he gained an experience of plantation life with slavery which fitted him for his later appointment to South Carolina.

The Rev. Samuel Thomas, the first of fifty-four missionaries sent to South Carolina by the S. P. G. before the Revolution (1702-06), had returned to England in 1705 with a strong plea from the authorities in South Carolina for more missionaries. Dr. Le Jau was one of several sent out in consequence of this plea. Coming by way of Virginia, he arrived in Charles Town on October 18, 1706. He was "mighty afflicted" on his arrival to find that Thomas, who had returned from his visit to England about October 3, had, after a week, fallen victim to that scourge from which this colony periodically suffered—yellow fever. Le Jau states, "I flatter'd my self with the hopes of his Dear Company, help and advice." However, as the letters reveal, he had conferred with Thomas in England about the work at Goose Creek. Here Thomas himself had labored, holding services in a small church erected some years before—the first Anglican church outside of Charles Town. Le Jau longed for a more adequate place of worship, and before long such a building was begun. The construction turned out to be a matter of many years. Le Jau probably never had a service in this church, one of the handsomest of colonial days. It still stands in its pristine glory, with the British Royal Arms in the east end, after almost two and a half centuries.

This earnest, able, and self-sacrificing missionary gives in these letters and reports a clear picture of hard labor for eleven years in the face of great difficulties. The labor, we may say, was of a four-fold nature: first, his primary effort was to bring the settlers themselves (whites from England, either direct or by way of Barbadoes) to a sincere faith and an active allegiance to the Church; second, to teach the pagan slaves, convert and baptize them; third, to evangelize the Indians; and, lastly, to bring to bear proper influence upon the Huguenot refugees, to enlist them in the Anglican Church, which in 1706

had by law become established. The Huguenots at first had their own churches and, indeed, were the first to establish Christianity in the rural districts of the colony. They were before very long mostly absorbed into the Established Church. Le Jau, being himself a Huguenot but a now thoroughly indoctrinated Churchman, was, no doubt, a strong influence in the accomplishment of this purpose.

Our hearts are stirred as we read of Le Jau's difficulties: repeated long illnesses—disease with very slight medical attention was rampant; opposition by planters to Church work among the slaves, some of whom thought that Christianizing the slaves ruined them as laborers; also attacks by Indians, culminating in the terrible Yemassee War in 1715, a threat to the very existence of the colony. He and his family were forced at this time to take refuge in the city. He was especially interested in the Indians, being intrigued by some of their unique customs—the practice of circumcision, also a curious dance by the men, the women being significantly excluded. Did this indicate man's first creation?

The letters are especially valuable in that they give much information concerning the work of the other missionaries and the other ten parishes in the colony. He had a high regard for Commissary Johnston, who also had charge of St. Philip's in the city, cooperating with the commissary in his broader activities. If his health had not failed, he no doubt would have succeeded Johnston as commissary—as indeed it had been planned. The devoted services of this much beloved servant of God left a deep impress upon the Church in South Carolina. He has had many descendants in the state, who often themselves have been prominent citizens. This book is very entertaining as well as instructive.

ALBERT S. THOMAS.

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The Presbyterian Enterprise: Sources of American Presbyterian History. Edited by Maurice W. Armstrong, Lefferts A. Loetscher, and Charles A. Anderson. Philadelphia, The Westminster Press, 1956. 336 pp. \$4.50.

Apart from Professor Sweet's four volumes covering religion on the frontier, little has so far been done to make the source material of American Church history available to the ordinary student. This is a serious want in a day when the text-book method of teaching history is generally felt to be inadequate, and students are encouraged to seek some first-hand acquaintance with original historical evidence. The current publication of the great series, *English Historical Documents*, is already proving an invaluable aid to the conduct of seminars on the history of the Church of England.

There is good reason, therefore, to welcome this excellent volume by a group of Presbyterian historians, who have edited a generous selection of documents to illustrate the whole history of their Church in this country. It is not too much to say that the book is a model of its kind, both in the wide variety of material drawn upon, and in the useful arrangement and presentation of the selections. Official church documents, court records, minutes, diaries, periodicals, and sermons have all contributed to give a well-rounded and vivid picture of the Presbyterian way of life and faith in succeeding generations, from the colonial days to the present. There has been no attempt to pass lightly over the dissensions and spiritual failures which are a part of every denomination's history; but the book remains an inspiring record of a Church's valiant effort to meet the challenges and resolve the problems ever confronting it in a changing society.

Since the history of the Presbyterian Church in America roughly parallels our own, certain comparisons inevitably come to mind. Notable in the early period are the tremendous impact on the Presbyterians of the Great Awakening, a movement which barely rippled the surface of Anglican Church life, and the consequent energy and zeal with which a revivalist-type Presbyterianism set out to conquer the frontier region of the old West—this during a period when the Episcopal Church was incapable of even visualizing its own missionary task. On the other hand, the constant schisms which eventually destroyed the Presbyterian impetus, and the deep bitterness aroused by the slavery controversy and the Civil War, have almost no counterpart in the Episcopalian story. In the modern period, the documents on social problems sound a wholly familiar note; only the preoccupation with the issue of Biblical inerrancy and with the cause of Prohibition would remind an Episcopalian that this is a religious tradition different from his own.

Presbyterians may be congratulated on the possession of a book which cannot fail to awaken interest and pride in their history. So good an example deserves imitation, and Episcopilians who read this source book will not be content until their Church has produced one of its own.

R. S. BOSHER.

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II. English and General Church History

The High Church Party, 1688-1718. By George Every. S.M.M., London, S.P.C.K. (distributed by Macmillan) 1956. Pp. xiv+195. \$4.50.

This is a work of detailed and painstaking scholarship, which might well be read in conjunction with Prof. Norman Sykes' *Old Priest and New Presbyter* (Cambridge), reviewed in our December 1956 issue.

Fr. Every is concerned to show that the term, "The High Church Party," was not used until the last years of the seventeenth century, because, prior to the Revolution of 1689, the party so described was not sufficiently differentiated from the rest of the Church of England to require a name. Earlier in the seventeenth century, High Churchmen, like Laud, and Latitudinarians, like Chillingworth and Hales, appear as allies rather than as rivals and foes. Both alike insisted on the necessity of diocesan Episcopacy to the integrity of a Catholic Church, without denying the validity of Presbyteral orders. Ussher and Pearson, by adapting to the defence of Episcopacy a line of argument which had been used to assert the exclusive claims of Presbytery, opened the way for others to dismiss Presbyterianism as a mere revolt against Catholic doctrine and discipline. Henry Dodwell was perhaps the most influential spokesman for this extreme position.

The High Church Party arose in opposition to James II's policy of toleration and comprehension, and developed strength and cohesion in the controversies that arose over Prayer Book revision in 1689. But from the outset its effectiveness was limited by the schism of the Nonjurors, whose adherence to the House of Stuart prevented the Party from presenting a united front. In a chapter on "The High Church Schism," Fr. Every presents in interesting detail the many cross-currents of the resulting confusion, which in the reign of William and Mary made for the ascendancy of Tillotson and the Latitudinarians, which party continued to control the episcopal bench during most of the reign of Queen Anne, while the High Church Party predominated in the Lower House of Convocation.

Meantime, in Convocation, the Church was grappling not only with the problems of her spiritual autonomy and independence, which lay at the basis of the Nonjuring schism, but also with the problems of heresy and unbelief—the Deism, Arianism, and Socinianism of such writers as John Locke, John Toland, Samuel Clarke, William Whiston, and others. With the accession of Queen Anne (1702) and the raising of the cry, "The Church in danger," following upon the impeachment of Dr. Sacheverell, the High Church Party attained a more powerful position. But political ineptitude on the part of its leaders (influenced by their fear of the Hanoverian succession) brought about the frustration of their efforts to give the episcopate to the Prussian Lutherans and to seek common ground with the Gallicans. And their assertion of the authority of the Church was weakened not only by their general adherence to the Tory (political) Party, but also by the vagaries of extremists who taught the invalidity of lay baptism, thereby casting doubt on Nonconformist baptism. Had the Party followed the leadership of Whig High Churchmen like Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London, in preference to the more rigid leadership of Atterbury, it would probably have had greater success in commanding the authority and independence of the Church against the rising tide of eighteenth century Erastianism. As it was, a century which began with the Church in a strong position, with Romanism in disrepute and Dissent on the wane, soon saw the Church lapse into the inertia from which it began to be aroused in mid-

century by the Methodist and Evangelical revivals. The High Church Party became "High and Dry," in reaction to the enthusiasm of the Methodists. But the High Church tradition was passed on to the Tractarians in the nineteenth century by the learning of Dr. Martin Routh, who recommended that Seabury seek episcopal consecration from the Scottish Nonjurors rather than from the Danish episcopate, maintained the doctrine of Apostolic Succession as developed by High Anglican and Gallican patristic scholarship, and died in 1854 at the venerable age of 99, the oracle of the Oxford Movement.

Again we are indebted to the Church Historical Society of the Church of England for the publication of a book throwing fresh light upon an important and formative period in the history of Anglicanism. Seven full-page illustrations add to the interest and value of the book.

E. H. ECKEL.

*Trinity Church Rectory,
Tulsa, Oklahoma.*



Henry Newman, An American in London, 1708-43. By Leonard W. Cowie. London, S.P.C.K., 1956. Pp. x+272. 30 shillings.

Dr. Cowie has written a pioneer biography of a Massachusetts layman who settled in England and became the devoted secretary of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (the S.P.C.K.) from 1708 to 1743. Dr. Cowie has gone further and given us something of a picture of the Church, politics, and society in 18th century England. The study is primarily based on the fifty-two volumes of Newman's drafts of letters deposited in the S.P.C.K. archives. The wide range of the Society's interests and business is apparent on almost every page of the book. Dr. Cowie has also exploited the Minute Books, and many other primary sources.

Born in Massachusetts in 1670, Newman was educated at Harvard, where two of his lecturers influenced him enough to bring about his conversion to the Anglican Church shortly after graduation. First Librarian of Harvard College from 1690-93, then a merchant, he finally moved to England, where in 1708 he became secretary of the S.P.C.K. A life-long bachelor, he gave intense work and long hours to the Society. The main question is, how much influence did Newman have? Dr. Cowie does not seem to be certain. Newman avoided prominence. He never referred in the minutes to the views he expressed. True, his acquaintances were wide, and he was interested in the reform movement generally, but one gains the impression that Newman's life was the Society's life—developing missionary work, at home mostly but some overseas, developing charity schools, and promoting various social reforms. But he created no great policy. Nor was

he in any sense the leader of a movement. However, Newman's life does give us a deeper insight into the Society's work.

It is quite clear, for example, how London dominated the Society despite its extensive activities and correspondence. The literary activities of the Society were great, particularly in printing, and in the distribution of the various books and pamphlets. The Psalter and the New Testament were even translated into Arabic. The Society, however, did not engage in Protestant propaganda on the continent. Newman, for one, opposed the idea because it might give offense to the bishops, and also because it might provoke dissenters. Actually the Society strengthened relationships between the Church of England and continental Protestantism. The Society also gave solid support to the charity school movement. Dr. Cowie introduces fresh material on the financing and the teaching, and even the influence of party politics on the schools.

An energetic man, Newman became engrossed in a number of other activities. He was secretary to Dr. Thomas Bray's trustees for the provision of parochial libraries. He was often appealed to as "a man of interest," and he devoted much time and effort to help clergy. Many a letter he wrote to gain someone preferment. He also helped many people in poverty, old-age, and sickness. He warned Bishop Berkeley in a number of letters that his projected college in Bermuda could not succeed. Newman kept in touch with Harvard. He recovered legacies left in England to the College, procured many books for their library, and persuaded the Royal Society to extend its membership to Harvard scholars. Newman was often involved in helping the Anglican clergy in America. His insight into the problems facing the Church in the colonies was keen. He also helped his fellow countrymen who visited or who were living in England. This activity led him into the role of acting as an official link between the mother country and the colonies.

Specifically, Newman acted as colonial agent in London for New Hampshire. He was proposed by Colonel Joseph Dudley, governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, and the post paid him £10 a year for his labors. The correspondence reveals growing trouble between the colonies and England, as well as the slackness and inefficiency of colonial administration. Dr. Cowie points up the commercial nature of British imperialism, and refers to "Walpole's policy of *quieta non movere* and Newcastle's lethargy in Britain" (p. 221).

Newman was closely connected with the foundation of Georgia. He had several friends among the trustees, and his admiration of Oglethorpe was vast. Newman took particular interest in the Salzburg refugees. He also knew Whitefield, and it was interesting and unfortunate that a breach developed between them. Newman was well aware of the troubles in Georgia, but tried to ignore them. Again and again one is impressed with Newman's unfailing charity and compassion.

Scholars on both sides of the Atlantic will welcome Dr. Cowie's study. His research is sound, but not without a few factual errors—

he had Dr. Bray residing in Maryland for three years, whereas the worthy commissary was in the colony less than a year (p. 23). Dr. Cowie's bibliography is an excellent one, although he has missed some of the recent monographs appearing on this side of the Atlantic. Dr. Cowie's style is undeveloped; details which could have appeared in foot notes clutter the text, and he is inclined to be plodding. However, it should be remembered that this is Dr. Cowie's first major effort, and a smoother research technique, combined with ease and flexibility in writing, will surely come with experience.

SAMUEL CLYDE McCULLOCH.

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of New Jersey,
New Brunswick.*



The Christian Scholar in the Age of the Reformation. By E. Harris Harbison. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1956. \$3.50.

This brilliant and delightful book makes especially clear some of the interconnections between those coincident movements of history which we call the Renaissance and the Reformation. Addressed to scholars, it will prove clarifying and stimulating to lay historians, as well as to specialists of fifteenth and sixteenth-century history.

The first of the five lectures, of which the volume is composed, sketches in factual, ideological fashion the places occupied in Christian history by such scholars and Christian leaders as St. Jerome, St. Augustine, Abelard, and Thomas Aquinas. Then, in the second chapter, we read of the parts played by such scholars as Petrach, Lorenzo, Valla, Pico della Mirandola, and John Colet, in preparing the intellectual way for those greatest of Christian scholars and religious leaders of the sixteenth century—Erasmus, Luther, and Calvin.

Erasmus presents perhaps the most perfect example of the man who sees his scholarship as the high road to the Christian life: "'the philosophy of Christ' can be learned if you go to the sources; 'only be teachable . . .'" (p. 91). He was, then, the philologist who found Christ through his studies.

Luther, on the other hand, was "still primarily a philosopher and theologian rather than a philologist and historian." His great work, the German translation of the Bible, had grown out of his deep Christian faith. Indeed, in his earlier years he felt such distrust of reliance on learning that he doubted that his title of Doctor was proper. Was it not in fact papistical? Later, however, he came to value it as giving him authority for much of his Christian teaching, but here plainly the Christian belief in saving souls gave importance to Luther's scholarly work.

When we come to Calvin, we find a systematizer, a man who sought to base his faith on objective reasoning, and one who beyond others looked to *utility* as an end to his speculations. This emphasis on the useful had many social implications, and led to the tremendous display of energy which marked Calvin and his followers. It was a part of the spirit of the age, and was to be found in the Humanists, who cared little for the fine-spun dialectic of the scholastics, in the rhetoricians, who sought not the softnesses of speech but its application, and in the theologians, who placed the Philosophy of Christ in direct relation to the times in which they lived. Calvin was the Christian scholar who used his learning to advance the cause of Christ, as he understood it, along ways which would also advance mankind in the search for the Kingdom.

This is a book of lectures presented to the students of the Princeton Theological Seminary, and written, one suspects by a Presbyterian, but it is one which Episcopalians will find attractive to their ways of thought, for, throughout the volume, scholarship and sound faith are displayed as mutual aids in the attainment of vital churchmanship.

RUDOLF KIRK.

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Christianity and the State in the Light of History. By T. M. Parker. New York, Harper and Brothers, 1955. Pp. 178. \$3.00.

Mr. Parker, chaplain and fellow of University College, Oxford, and University lecturer in theology, has produced a valuable and discriminating study of the relation of Church and State from Old Testament times to the early part of the Reformation period.

Pointing out that in primitive society "a primitive king is a priest, because he is a god," he shows that in its crudest form this was never characteristic of Israel. There was in Israel, of course, no idea of Church and State as separate entities. Theocracy was the ideal. Formal kingship was a development of the 11th century B.C., and came to be regarded as an apostasy from the rule of God. But the older idea became the basis of the Messianic hope. In contrast to the revolutionary ferment of the Zealots, Christ taught the duty of obeying civil authority in all matters which do not trench upon God's prior rights. St. Paul, in Romans, and I Peter echoed His teaching, with added emphasis upon the divine sanction of the secular power, though its function was regarded chiefly in terms of the maintenance of order and the punishment and restraint of the wicked. But deeply embedded also in the New Testament is the apocalyptic strand which sees the earthly power as always opposed to the Kingdom of God, and therefore destined for judgment and destruction.

In his discussion of the pre-Constantinian Church, Mr. Parker, in an illuminating analogy, compares the status of Christians in the empire to that of Roman Catholics in England from the 16th to the 18th century. In each case, their religion was proscribed, and they were subject to disabilities, penalties, and persecutions; but such persecutions, which could easily have exterminated them, varied in intensity, were sporadic, and were separated by long periods of toleration and peaceful growth. Christian apologists, indeed, urged that, though Christians could not in conscience worship the emperor, they prayed for him and wished well to the state. In Tertullian, the idea of obedience for conscience sake, and the opposing current of apocalyptic, are curiously blended.

The various nuances of the Constantinian revolution are developed in conjunction with a superb analysis of Constantine's own character and policy, which resulted in the close integration of Church and State. But it remained for Constantine's ablest son, Constantius, to seek to make himself the pontifex maximus of Christianity. And so the stage was set for Byzantine theocracy or Caesaro-papism in the East.

In the West, the break-up of the empire saw the Church tending to develop under barbarian rule into a series of national bodies, each closely linked with the state it served and relatively independent of its neighbors. In the 8th century, Charlemagne considered it his function to rule the Church no less than the State.

The rise of feudalism in the later Dark Ages paved the way for the early medieval attempt at papal theocracy, while at the same time it sowed the seeds of the investiture dispute. The king (or emperor), who sought to control the Church, by that very fact found himself subject to the Church's judgment, and condemned his successors to the domination of the supreme head of the Church.

Gregory VII was the great exponent of papal theocracy in the springtime of the Middle Ages. But the Church could not retain its influence and share in civil society, and at the same time contract out of it. Nor could the Church be involved in temporal affairs without becoming tarred with the secular spirit. The conflict between Boniface VIII and Philip the Fair of France marks the first sign of decadence in the notion of papal theocracy. It was inevitable that a Marsilius of Padua should arise to question the prerogatives of the Papacy and to anticipate the break-up of the medieval world and the confusion of the Reformation.

In a chapter on "Reformation Ecclesiology and the State," our author compares and contrasts the views of Church-State relations that characterized Luther, Calvin, and Beza, appraises each, and delineates the rise of toleration, the secularization of the State, and the 19th century ideal of "a free Church in a free State." The conception of the identity of Christian Church and Christian State was slow in dying, and is not yet dead. Hooker, in his *Ecclesiastical Polity*, sang its swan song. The problem before Christianity today "is not that of adjustment to the State, but one of survival in the face of a State with

ever-increasing claims and ambitions—until at last Leviathan collapses under its own weight."

It seems a bit odd to the present reviewer that these chapters were delivered as Bampton Lectures, presumably in the year of their publication, for they seem to fall outside the field of learning prescribed by Canon Bampton when he established his foundation more than two centuries ago. Evidently, the interpretation of Canon Bampton's bequest has been liberalized—and the student of Church history is the gainer.

E. H. ECKEL.

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God's Fool: A New Portrait of St. Francis of Assisi. By the Rev. Francis C. Capozzi. New York, Morehouse-Gorham Co., 1956. \$4.25.

Since the end of the New Testament era, no character in our history has so captivated the imagination and won the affection of Christians as the Little Poor Man of Assisi. In fact, his admirers have been found among followers of all religions. So it is quite fitting that we should from time to time have a fresh look at him through the eyes of those who have made a thorough study of his life and work. The present volume is a spiritual portrait rather than a scholarly biography. But it is carefully written, with full knowledge of the sources. And the story is told vividly, with lively conversations and beautiful interpretations of the varied episodes in St. Francis' career. The author has lived with his subject in spirit and has shared with us his devoted insight. Those who read this book reverently will feel again the charm of St. Francis' personality; and it is to be hoped that they will also respond to his call. For our present age needs his frank and uncompromising allegiance to the Lord Whom he loved and served.

DUBOSE MURPHY.

*Christ Church,
Tuscaloosa, Alabama.*



Archibald The Arctic. By Archibald Lang Fleming. New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1956. \$5.00.

A good many Americans will be puzzled by the title of this book, for they are not familiar with the English custom which has a bishop

drop his own surname and substitute the name of his diocese. But when we understand this and then go on to read the present story, we appreciate the words of John Buchan: "Archibald The Arctic" is the most romantic signature in the world."

Archibald Lang Fleming was born in Scotland in 1883. His first employment was in a shipyard at Clydebank, and he gave promise of a successful career in that occupation. But he felt called of God to offer himself for missionary service, and volunteered for work in Canada. After attending Wycliffe College, Toronto, for a time, the Bishop of Moosonee sent him to Baffin Land, where he worked for more than two years as a lay missionary. He was then ordained, but was kept from active duty by illness. From then on, his life was a valiant struggle, first against the many hardships of the Arctic, and then against recurrent periods of poor health. Eventually, however, he was able to accept appointment as archdeacon—which involved the task of raising money for the support of the growing work, as well as the travel over an enormous area. The Diocese of The Arctic was created, and he was consecrated as its first bishop in 1933. From then until his retirement in 1946, he gave his full strength and devotion to the largest diocesan area in the world.

There are many things which make this book both valuable and interesting. It offers a fascinating first-hand account of life in the Arctic—not only the weather and other physical conditions under which the Eskimo live, but also a sympathetic picture of native beliefs and customs. It also gives us an acquaintance with a great soul, a man completely dedicated to the Lord and using all his talents of sound judgment, friendly sympathy and spiritual integrity in the Master's work. We may be thankful to him and to his wife (who completed the task of publication) for permitting us to share his experience through this book.

DUBOSE MURPHY.

*Christ Church,
Tuscaloosa, Alabama.*



The Case of Cornelia Connelly. By Juliana Wadham. London, Collins, 1956. Pp. 319, portraits. 16s.

Cornelia Augusta Connelly, born Peacock (Jan. 15, 1809-Apr. 18, 1879), went far afield from her native Philadelphia and from what must have been her bourgeois and evangelical upbringing. After her marriage to the Rev. Pierce Connelly (1804-Dec. 7, 1883), she lived for a few years in Natchez, Mississippi, where her husband was rector of Trinity Church. In 1835, she and her husband made their obedience to the see of Rome and, after indulging in the worldly society of the Roman

court, which must have contributed little to the spiritual growth of either, settled down obscurely in Grand Coteau, Louisiana. Crossing to Rome again, Connelly and his wife executed a deed of separation, after which he entered the Roman priesthood and she a convent. Founder of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus, Mrs. Connelly lived for the remainder of her life in England, with but infrequent excursions to the continent and one brief visit to the United States in 1867. Her society pioneered in what might be regarded as the modern education of girls. By her intransigence and tactlessness, and at times poor judgment, Mrs. Connelly embroiled herself with her patrons and ecclesiastical superiors, and brought down upon herself and her society frequent and well deserved criticism.

Yet she was a good and probably a saintly woman, and nothing in Mrs. Wadham's biography is more compelling than the photographic portrait of Mrs. Connelly, in old age and in a singularly dowdy habit, which shows her to have been far more strikingly beautiful than the romanticized sketches of her as a young woman show. Today, a tribunal set up by the bishop of Southwark is examining her cause, with a view to recommending her canonization.

American churchmen may well be interested in the earlier part of the book, which, however, gives a false and snobbish picture of Philadelphia in the early years of the last century, and shamefully neglects both the charm and position of Natchez on the hill in its heyday, and in the, at times ambitious, career of Pierce Connelly, who, in 1849, returned to the Episcopal Church and spent the remainder of his life as rector of St. James's Church in Florence, Italy. They can hardly be expected to sympathize with Mrs. Connelly's neglect of her children, as well as her husband's ineptness, and the unfortunate, if indeed not disastrous, end to which they came. This neglect can be attributed only to the pernicious moral theology of a religious body that arrogates to its bureaucracy the right to dispense the most sacred and intimate ties of human relationships.

Mrs. Wadham writes with insight and charity, and in a felicitous style. She explores the devious politics of the Roman Catholic Church, and if at times those politics are incomprehensible to the reader, the basic reason appears to be that they are also incomprehensible to the author. The work, for the most part, is based upon unpublished and vaguely located manuscript materials, and at times the reader is perplexed to discover whether words and phrases appearing within parentheses in quotations are parenthetical expressions of the writer of the quotation or interpolations of the author. Frequently, Mrs. Wadham makes no attempt to pinpoint difficulties over which she labors, as, for example, the controversy over the *regula* of Mrs. Connelly's society. In the best English publishing tradition, the book evidences faulty proofreading and is marred by numerous typographical errors.

Although their spatial and spiritual pilgrimages were in diametrical opposite directions, the careers of Pierce and Cornelia Connelly parallel those of another gifted married couple, Dr. Edmund Montgomery, the biological philosopher, and Elisabet Ney, the sculptor. In both

cases, the wives accepted with ease and alacrity the positions toward which their husbands fumbled with pain and hesitation, and in each case the woman outstripped her husband in accomplishments.

ANDREW FOREST MUIR.

Houston, Texas.

III. Theology and Philosophy

Christology and Myth in the New Testament. By Geraint Vaughan Jones. New York, Harper, 1956. Pp. 295. \$4.50.

Bultmann's idea of making the New Testament more acceptable to modern man by a process of "demythologizing" has been responsible for a number of books and articles, which agree with Bultmann in principle but do not go along with him in his belief that Heidegger's Existentialism is the proper key. This appears to be about the point of view of Dr. Jones, who limits his investigation to a consideration of the problem of the mythological element in the Christological statements of the New Testament.

After outlining the position of Bultmann, whose pupil he claims to have been, and giving a general statement of the relation of myth to the presentation of the Gospel, he devotes the main part of his book to a study of the meaning of Christ as Lord—His Lordship with reference to creation, His place in creation, and His Lordship over the powers of evil. This he believes is the most fruitful approach to the problem. By way of introduction he cites, as an illustration of the possibility of a "non-mythological interpretation, or at least a philosophical paraphrase" (p. 111), Thornton's *Incarnate Lord*.

In the last section of the book, the whole question of the necessity for the use of myth is examined, with the conclusion that such use is inescapable.

"A Christianity which jettisons the so-called mythological element in the New Testament Christology instead of retaining it *in the knowledge that it is mythological* [author's italics] not only impoverishes itself but weakens its own historical-biblical roots. The biblical witness is, after all, as near to being final as any witness can be, though not necessarily infallibly so in the sense that its accuracy as *logos* is such that we are committed to its literal acceptance" (p. 281).

Dr. Jones has obviously done a tremendous amount of reading in the relevant material in English, French, German, and even Welsh. One wonders how he could have done it while being pastor of a city church. He says a great many interesting and valuable things. But his book lacks clarity and consistency. One is not always sure just

where he does stand on certain important questions. For the one who has no acquaintance with the controversy over "demythologizing," the book might furnish an introduction, although not an easy one. Its references to other material, if followed up, would give a liberal education in the subject. To the specialist, however, it offers little that is new.

E. J. COOK.

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Hymns and The Faith. By Erik Routley. Seabury Press.

To most who have made any serious study of hymns, Erik Routley is recognized as an outstanding hymnologist, something of a philosopher, and a scholar of considerable magnitude. In *Hymns and The Faith*, he has chosen forty-nine of the "most popular" hymns in English Protestantism, and has analyzed their spiritual content. He purposely avoids, for the most part, any lengthy discussion of the sources or history of any of the hymns; consequently *Hymns and The Faith* is in no sense a book on hymnology, but rather a group of delightful sermonettes, designed to give the reader a clearer understanding of the hymns he sings and loves.

Some will doubtless wonder why space was given to certain of the "good old" (author's quotes) hymns that they may feel have no place in present day worship, but they will surely acquire for them a new respect, if not affection.

While obviously written for the layman, both clergy and choir-masters will find *Hymns and The Faith* a valuable addition to their libraries. To all who have any sincere interest in hymns, it will provide enlightened and pleasurable reading.

GEORGE HUDDLESTON.

*Christ Church,
New Brunswick, N. J.*



Moral Principles in the Bible. By Ben Kimpel. N. Y.: Philosophical Library. 1956. \$4.50.

The philosophy used for this biblical analysis is that of rational empiricism. The Prophets of Israel enunciate moral sequences in life, which lead us to infer types of moral relations. The test is pragmatic, "What does not contribute to the welfare of life will not endure, be-

cause it is negated by a role of God which does endure" (p. 62). There is evil in the world, and morality only appears when certain conditions are met. Otherwise, penalties result and the evils resulting are God's judgment on the acts. However, God is not the source of the evil; evil is the result of human and not Divine action.

Because of his philosophical method, our author can only use one facet of Biblical ethics. He does use the Prophets, but he uses them as if they were Levitical in their declarations of crime and punishment, righteousness and prosperity. There is nothing of the Suffering Servant of Isaiah, and nothing of those who suffer for righteousness' sake. Hence, he never reaches the New Testament notions of love, and of redemption for mankind through the agony of love.

What we miss in this book is the higher ethics, both of the Prophets and of our Lord. Evil is much too easily handled, and there is no recognition of the mysteries of ethical life. There seems little in Professor Kimpel's Biblical ethics but evil as a kind of utilitarian disaster, and good as a kind of utilitarian welfare. The blessedness of those who are persecuted for righteousness' sake, and the joy that was set before our Lord when he endured the cross, are both beyond the awareness of our author's thought. Evil is more awful than he thinks, and goodness is more transcendently wonderful than he ever dreams.

JOHN S. MARSHALL.

*University of the South,
Sewanee, Tennessee.*



On the Nature of Man. By Dagobert D. Runes. N. Y.: Philosophical Library. 1956. \$3.00.

Here is a book which reveals many half truths in the guise of whole truths. It is the creed of a disillusioned intellectual. He yearns for political revolution, and desires the destruction of both priest and judge. Yet he condemns totalitarianism. His philosophy asserts the amorality of nature. There is no moral guide in nature, and there is no moral law of nature. Hence, there is no God revealed in nature, for "there is no law in nature but that of conquer and devour" (p. 50). For Runes, the law of states also is always the means of controlling the weak by the strong. As he says, "The law was and is a chain to imprison the masses" (p. 56). God, conceived as creator and ruler, is the construct of priests and kings, the myth to give strength to the stronger to rule the weak. Hence, God exists only in the conscience of good men, and has no existence elsewhere.

Of course, there is a half truth in all of this; but it must be remembered that the French Revolution, which he so much admires, is the ancestor of Bolshevism quite as much as democratic liberty, and

that the priests and judges he dislikes have often been the defenders of liberty. The history of the law reveals that the judges have more successfully defended human liberty than all the revolutions of all time.

The disillusioned intellectual is indeed blind to much of sweetness and light. What we now need in our thinking is a positive insight, not a mere destruction of law and order.

JOHN S. MARSHALL.

The University of the South.



Psychology and Worship. By R. S. Lee. N. Y.: Philosophical Library. 1956.

This book is the work of a Freudian psychologist who is also an Anglican priest and a highly successful worker in his cure of souls. Dr. Lee is convinced that psycho-analysis is not only a technique for the cure of diseased minds, but it implies a normal psychology valuable for the understanding of Christianity. It is interesting to notice that our author brings out the facet of Freudian psychology which makes it at one with the psychology used by the Church until the eighteenth century, the psychology which makes desire central to life. Also, it is at one with this older psychology in recognizing that much of human desire is unconscious. It is the Cartesian emphasis on self-consciousness which has made much of modern psychology a study of conscious process. Because of Dr. Lee's stress on desire and the struggle in our desirative nature, and the struggle between the super-ego and the id, to use his language, his chapter on prayer is particularly valuable. With the greatest of those who cultivate prayer, it is realized that "Every good and holy desire . . . hath . . . the force of prayer."

There may be more questions involved when Dr. Lee makes the Oedipus Complex the source of the vitality of the Holy Communion. To some of us, the whole Freudian scheme of inborn symbols and the uniqueness of the desire for destruction of the offending male parent by the infant son, with its cannibalistic form of destruction, seems far from convincing. The cannibalistic explanation of the Holy Eucharist's power is an hypothesis which needs much more justification to be convincing.

However, the bringing together of depth psychology with Christian thought is a fruitful approach, and is being now pursued particularly in Switzerland. It will help us transcend a religion which stresses self-consciousness and even consciousness far too much, and make us realize that the redemption of life should go much deeper than decisions and crises which only involve our explicit and self-conscious mental life.

JOHN S. MARSHALL.

The University of the South.

God of God, Light of Light. By George Edward Hoffman. Obtainable from the Author, Paris, Illinois. 36 pp. N.P. given.

The author of this sonnet sequence is the rector of St. Andrew's Church in Paris, Illinois, and the editor of *The Springfield Churchman*. He has already published verse in a number of periodicals, and has been included in several anthologies.

In this booklet, he gives us an interesting series of sonnets, which deal in succession with the articles of the Nicene Creed. The author's theology, as reflected in the verse, seems unexceptionable in its orthodoxy, and also in its grasp of what one might call the cosmic sweep of the credal affirmations. This reviewer is no proper critic of poetry, but he would say Fr. Hoffman often shows remarkable insight and imagination, that several of the sonnets are, to his mind, beautifully done, and that a little pamphlet like this may be of help to those who wish to meditate on the implications of the creed, both for their thinking and for the devotional life.

Because this reviewer read the poems at Christmastime, these lines from the sonnet, "And Was incarnate," may appropriately be quoted as illustrative of the whole series:

(He came) To share man's tears and sweat, his toil, his shame,
 Partake of all man does, until at last
 Man finds the distance closed between his sin
 And God's Self through his Royal Paladin.

W. NORMAN PITTINGER.

General Theological Seminary,
New York City.



The Story of Noah's Ark. Retold by Dorothy L. Sayers. Picture painted by Fritz Wegner. Greenwich, Connecticut; Seabury Press.

Perhaps a review of this little folder has no place in a scholarly quarterly like *The Historical Magazine*. On the other hand, readers of this magazine undoubtedly have children or grandchildren or just plain young friends in the 4 to 6 year-old bracket, and they should be introduced to this handsome publication. My own little girl, who is 4½, has found Noah's Ark, as retold here, completely entralling.

The story itself is not new to her, since she has long enjoyed the Walt Disney version in Simon and Schuster's *Little Golden Book*, and the abridged King James version in the *Giant Golden Book of the Old Testament*, also Simon and Schuster. But the Seabury presentation is by all odds the most exciting and stimulating.

Miss Sayers, known popularly as a detective-story writer of high standing, has retold the tale in everyday English, but without descending

to nursery level. She adds an explanation of the historical flood, as archeologists deduce it must have happened. Then—here is the wonder of it for a small child—on turning the page, one finds the picture, painted by the noted Fritz Wegner. On first glance, it is simply a colorful, tapestry-like rendering of the Flood, with myriad details of animals and Ark and Noah's family and threatening clouds. Fascinating enough, there! but Miss Sayers' description leads the child on to looking *under* things, and he realizes that the picture has die-cut "windows," which open up to show all sorts of other animals. Skunks in a crate behind a rock; a white peacock behind the shut doors of a castle; lions in their lair; angels behind a black cloud; and, amazingly enough, a cockatrice, just hatching from its egg. (The cockatrice sent me scurrying to my unabridged dictionary, I must admit.) Even the dragon is there. ("Yes . . . there were Dragons in the Ark, or there wouldn't have been one for St. George to fight with . . ." says Miss Sayers.)

This is a beautiful little folder, designed to appeal without condescension to the curious mind of the pre-schooler. My little one's mind—like most others' at 4½, I imagine—is a startling blend of fantasy and literalness, and this version of Noah's Ark satisfies both, serving meanwhile as an excellent start to Old Testament study.

HARRIET H. WILLIAMS.

Albuquerque, New Mexico.

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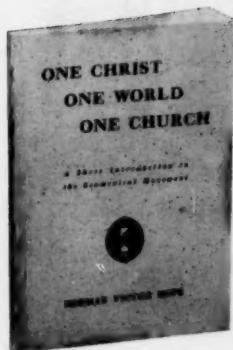
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